The Nation.

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The Week.

THE agencies which create a majority at a Presidential election are so numerous, and often so obscure, that everybody is more or less tempted to speculate about them—all the more because an opinion about them which nobody can refute is within every man's reach. The humblest or most ignorant man in New York to-day may have a theory of the cause of Cleveland's defeat which it would be impossible for the most sagacious or best informed to overthrow. If any man chooses to say that it was the tariff did it, or Hill did it, or civil-service abuses did it, who can demonstrate that he was wrong? There could not, in fact, be a better illustration of what logicians call "a composition of causes" than a Presidential election affords. Many things contribute to the result; but nobody can say, with overwhelming authority, unless he has actually bought and paid for the majority—which Matt Quay may have done—which thing was mainly instrumental in bringing it about, or, in other words, which thing was the "causing cause." All this naturally makes many people, after all is over, when they sit down to think about it, take a savage satisfaction in selecting some of their enemies to bear the blame. Nobody who has voted can feel perfectly secure against the charge that it was he who caused the calamity, no matter on which side he has voted. Even if he has voted for Cleveland, the disgust he has excited in other people at seeing him vote for anybody may have driven thousands over to Harrison. The *Tribune*, in fact, accounts for the defeat of Warner Miller in this very way. Thousands, on hearing that the Mugwumps were going to vote for him, determined to vote for his opponent, their feelings about corruption and liquor to the contrary notwithstanding. In fact, the doctrine that votes, under a popular government, have to come from the right people in order to do a candidate any good, has, ever since 1884, played a considerable part in our politics, and will doubtless continue to play a considerable part hereafter.

The Brooklyn *Eagle* thinks that "the figures disprove the statement that Gov. Hill's Democratic supporters went back on Cleveland." Admitting this, the same figures seem to us to prove that Gov. Hill's candidacy caused thousands of independent voters to withhold their votes from Cleveland. It is plain that the Governor's candidacy lost the Democratic State ticket many votes in those quarters of Brooklyn where independent voters are most numerous. Take, for instance, certain election districts of the First Ward, which includes the Heights, and compare their votes for the Presidential and Gubernatorial tickets:

	Cleveland.	Hill.	Harrison.	Miller.
4th.....	212	103	254	350
5th.....	163	110	276	313
8th.....	237	140	278	363
9th.....	177	124	196	239

Here, it will be seen, are election districts where one-fifth, one-fourth, one-third, and even, in the Fourth District, more than one-half of the men who voted for Cleveland voted against Hill, nearly all of them casting their ballots for Miller. This element consisted of lifelong Democrats, who could not endure the saloon candidate nominated for Governor by their party, and of independent voters, chiefly of Republican antecedents, who abominate the Hill type of politician. There were enough independent voters who thus discriminated between the two tickets, and supported the Presidential candidate of a party whose Gubernatorial candidate they could not abide, to save Cleveland the First Ward, although his plurality in it was but 207, against 498 four years ago. But there were other voters who had all along been favorably disposed towards Cleveland, and would have supported him if nothing had happened to disgust them with his party, who simply would not have anything to do with a party which nominated such a man as Hill for Governor. They did not consider that the country would be endangered or disgraced by Cleveland's defeat this year, as they did consider it would have been four years ago by Blaine's election; they did not think that the cause of tariff reform would be lost if Cleveland should not be reëlected; but they did feel that a party which would honor a man whose only claim above other men was that he was the devoted friend of the liquor interest was a party which they could not help to keep in power, at Washington or anywhere else.

The Republicans are sobering down sufficently now to contemplate what has happened in this city and State as well as in the nation, and we trust that they will give the situation here their most prayerful attention. It is probably great fun to laugh at the Mugwumps because Miller was not elected Governor and Hewitt was not elected Mayor; but are the facts of Hill's return to the Executive chair at Albany, and that Tammany Hall has full control of this city, causes for uproarious merriment? What is going to be done to guard us against similar successes in future elections? Does anybody believe that if Hill had been running against Miller on the issue of rum against temperance, in an election in which no other candidacy was involved, the State of New York would have given a majority for Hill and rum? Does anybody believe that if Hewitt had been running against Grant, in an election which was on city issues alone, the Republicans would have been so partisanly blind to the interests of the city as to make Grant's election sure by running a candidate of their own? Why should the welfare of the city and State be thus tied up with national politics, and sacrificed whenever the elections occur on the same day? We put these questions to intelligent and patriotic men of all parties, and ask them to consider seriously whether they can devote their energies to a more worthy object than the securing of separate municipal, State, and national elections.

The Harlem Democratic Club has already taken steps to advocate legislation which will give us separate municipal elections. They have appointed a committee to draft a bill to be submitted to the Legislature providing for spring elections for municipal and county officers, and another bill to secure electoral reform within the lines of Gov. Hill's veto of the Electoral-Reform Bill of the last session. As to the desirability of holding municipal elections at such times as no other elections are held, there can be no doubt. As it is now, the interests of the city are almost invariably sacrificed for State or national party interests, and a great flood of unworthy candidates for the Legislature, Board of Aldermen, and minor local candidates is swept into office under cover of the political excitement of the time. Gov. Hill, in his first message to the Legislature, took strong ground in favor of spring elections, and afterwards vetoed a bill providing for them, because it had some other measure conjoined with it. He might be tried now with a simple measure for the same purpose, and see what he would do with it.

As for the imperative necessity of a ballot-reform law, we have already expressed ourselves in favor of that, and are glad to see that a Democratic organization is the first to take the field for it now. Certainly the Democrats of this State, and of the whole country, ought to be impressed with the importance of such a reform to them. It is small use for them to make any attempts to carry the country and elect a President so long as a handful of political gamblers of both parties in this city and State can arrange a "deal," and decide the contest to suit themselves. Other States are already in the field with measures looking to the same end. A ballot-reform bill has been prepared by a club formed for the purpose in Providence, and is now before the Rhode Island Legislature. Michigan, which made an effort to secure such a law two years ago, and passed a bill through one house of the Legislature, will undoubtedly return to the subject this winter, when the Legislature comes together in biennial session.

There is even a prospect that Indiana too may be rescued from the disgrace of being put up at auction every four years. The State has long been in urgent need of a new

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election law, but the Democrats have stood in the way of the reform. This year they have lost the State on the Presidential vote, for lack of such a law, as they claim, and the leaders of the party in the press and the organization are demanding that the Democratic Legislature chosen last week shall do something about it. "The supreme duty of the next Legislature," says the *Sentinel*, the most prominent Democratic newspaper in the State, "is to pass an election law which will forever free Indiana from the scandal and disgrace to which it is now exposed every four years." The *Sentinel* points out that the Legislature is Democratic in both branches, and declares that "if a proper election law is not passed, it will be an everlasting reproach to the party." Chairman Jewett of the Democratic State Central Committee takes the same view of the matter as the *Sentinel*. "There is an urgent necessity," he says, "for the passage of a better election law than the one we now have," and he holds that "all men ought to unite in this effort." He thinks that the reform should include provisions limiting the size of voting precincts so that not more than 250 votes should be polled at one precinct; forbidding any one except the voter to approach nearer than 100 feet to the polling place; and the furnishing by the State of an envelope in which each ticket shall be enclosed, with opportunity for the voter to select and seal up his ballot unobserved. He thinks it would also be a great gain if the terms of State and county officers could be so arranged that elections for such offices could be separated from Federal elections. Out of the discussion thus started some improvement ought to come.

It is hardly necessary for us to say to the tariff-reform clubs throughout the country that they ought to continue the work for which they were organized without intermission, that they ought to hold regular meetings, issue such documents as they can find means to publish and circulate, and go on in all respects as living organisms. It is hardly necessary for us to give this advice, because these clubs, unlike mere party clubs, were formed for a continuing purpose. They are like the anti-slavery clubs of old, that worked and fought, not against a party, but against an evil, and allowed themselves no rest so long as the evil existed. The tariff-reform clubs have no party end to gain: it is their object to educate, and it is perfectly immaterial to them whether the reform they work for is carried out by one party, or by the other, or by both together. They are volunteer organizations, moved by a conviction that the tariff is an obstacle and a hindrance to the prosperity of the nation, and an injustice to the great mass of the people. The activity of the past few months, when a national election was pending, cannot be kept up; but the organizations can be continued and improved, and the work carried forward quite as effectively as before.

The year 1892 is a more distant goal than the tariff-reform clubs have in mind at present. There will be an election for Congressmen in all parts of the United States two years hence. This is the true objective point for tariff-reformers. The recent election has shown where the tariff-reform clubs can put in their most effective work, namely, among the workingmen of the large cities—the very ones who were so pelted during the recent campaign with wage statistics and quotations from English papers, forgeries and other. The returns show that this rubbish was wasted on the workingmen. They didn't believe a word of it. The Republicans, on the whole, lost votes in the manufacturing centres, where people meet and talk, and hear debates and take part in them. They gained in the rural districts, where the poor, tax-ridden farmer is still gulled, and gulled more than ever, with the idea that, by paying taxes for somebody else's benefit, a mysterious subterranean stream of wealth will gush out at his doorway by and by. He has been waiting for it all his lifetime, and it has not come; but apparently his faith in it has grown in proportion to the mystery of the oracles which have promised it to him. The tariff-reform clubs can easily reach the workingmen, and bring more and more of them into a knowledge of the truth; and to this work, in season and out of season, they will continue faithful to the end.

The three largest wool-growing States in the Union are Texas, Ohio, and California. These are the States in which, if anywhere, we ought to look for Republican gains by reason of the Democratic demand for free wool. But what is the complexion of the returns from these States? The returns from Texas are unimportant in any case, the Democratic majority being so large, and are at present insufficient to base a comparison upon; but in Ohio and California, strange as it must appear to the high-tariff mind, the Democrats have actually gained votes. In Ohio, Mr. Blaine's plurality four years ago was 31,802. This year Mr. Harrison's plurality is less than 21,000. In California, Blaine had 13,128 plurality, but Harrison's plurality is several thousand less. So much for the wool-growing States. Let us now glance at the cities and States where wool manufacturing is an important branch of industry. Probably Rhode Island is the most important centre of this industry. What do we find here? In the city of Providence Blaine had 1,864 plurality; Harrison has now only 488. In Pawtucket Blaine had 451; Harrison has 266. In the whole State, Blaine had 6,639; Harrison has 4,427. New Hampshire is also extensively engaged in wool manufacturing. In Manchester, the largest manufacturing town, Blaine had 587 plurality; Harrison now has 391. In the whole State Blaine had 4,066; Harrison has 2,748. The city of Philadelphia is probably the largest wool-manufacturing centre in the whole country. Here Mr. Blaine had 30,000 plurality four years ago; now Mr. Harrison has 18,065. Norwich, Connecticut, is another important wool manufacturing point. In that city Blaine had 431 plurality, Harrison has 99. In Waterbury Cleveland had 491 in 1884; his plurality is now increased to 749. In Bridgeport this plurality of 576 is increased to 678. In Meriden his plurality of 54 rises now to 341. Throughout Connecticut, as a general rule, the Democrats have gained in the manufacturing towns and lost in the rural districts. They have gained where there was opportunity for discussion and the mingling together of people and comparison of views.

The Indianapolis *Journal* has reached the conclusion that "this is a Republican country, and there is no middle-aged voter now alive who will ever see the Democracy again in control of the national Government." Something may be pardoned to the natural exuberance of the home organ of a successful Presidential candidate, but it is well enough to remind the *Journal* that the Republicans swept the country much more thoroughly in 1872 than in 1888, and that only two years later there was a "tidal wave" which gave the Democrats an overwhelming majority of the House in 1874, and large pluralities on the Presidential ticket in New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Indiana in 1876. Also, that Garfield carried New York by 21,000 plurality and received 214 out of 369 electoral votes in 1880, while in 1882 the Democrats carried New York by nearly 200,000, and in 1884 Cleveland received 219 out of 401 electoral votes.

One break has certainly been made in the "Solid South" in the assured election of a Republican Legislature in Delaware, which, although the geographies used always to class it as one of the "Middle States," has of late years in political divisions been ranked with the other late slave States. The result is due primarily to a quarrel between the factions in the Democratic party. This became so bitter that the Saulsbury wing finally helped the Republicans to carry his home county, which holds the balance of power in the Legislature. The political revolution in the little State, thus brought about, will very likely end in giving the Republicans control of the commonwealth. It seems also probable that another break has been made in the Solid South by the election in West Virginia of a Legislature which will send a Republican to the Senate. The Democrats have been losing ground in the State steadily since 1876, and if the Republicans have carried the Legislature this year, they may reasonably hope to secure a majority of the popular vote in the next election, if they have not done so now. The Republicans were sure of controlling the Senate by the casting vote of the Vice President, even if they had not gained a seat in either Delaware or West Virginia. Delaware will make the parties stand 39 Republicans to 37 Democrats, and a change in West Virginia, 40 to 36.

We commend the existing situation to the attention of people who recommend a change in our method of electing a President, so as to have the choice made by popular vote. Under the existing system, it was clear to every experienced student of election-returns before midnight on Tuesday that Harrison had a

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majority of the electoral votes, and consequently was elected. But nobody has the slightest idea to-day, or can have for days to come, whether he has also a majority of the popular vote. A long time must elapse before all the voting districts can possibly be heard from in such great and for the most part thinly settled States as Minnesota, California, and Texas. It may easily happen that a candidate may have a large majority of the electoral votes, but a very narrow preponderance of the popular votes, as Garfield in 1880, who had 214 electoral votes to only 155 for Hancock, but led Hancock by only 9,464 votes out of more than 9,000,000. The idea of subjecting the nation to the strain of waiting days and probably weeks to find out who is to be President, while all the back districts are being heard from, is simply preposterous.

Wall Street has not taken a favorable view of the election of Mr. Harrison. There is a tinge of disappointment very clearly discernible in financial circles that Mr. Cleveland is not to be intrusted with the reins of government during the next four years. This arises partly from the fact that the administration of the finances, both under Mr. Manning and Mr. Fairchild, has been prudent and conservative, and always in the direction of economy, and opposed to profligacy of all kinds. It is a great thing to know beforehand what you can rely upon in the Department of the Treasury. It is an unsettling circumstance to have a new man come in, however good his general character may be; it is especially so to have a new man come in backed by a party whose platform calls for large appropriations in order to get rid of the surplus. But we think that the platform will not be much regarded by the politicians, now that the election is past, and that Mr. Harrison will seek, in his Secretary of the Treasury, some man of experience and stability, in whom the best elements of the country may have full confidence; for it is only on these conditions that the Republicans can retain the power they have so narrowly secured in the recent election. It would be a most fatal contrast if it could be shown at the end of two years that in the management of the national finances the Republicans were less trustworthy than the Democrats.

The present Legislature of Georgia is remarkable because of the youthfulness of its presiding officers. The President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House were both born in the year 1853. They were still mere boys while the war was raging, and entered upon their political career after the bitterness of the reconstruction era had passed away. The bringing to the front of the young men in the South is becoming very noticeable. Gov. Seay of Alabama is only forty-five years old. Representatives Phelan of Tennessee and Simmons of North Carolina are two of the youngest men in Congress. The delegates to the St. Louis Convention from Georgia were almost without exception of the new generation, and two of the Presidential electors just chosen in that State have barely attained their majority. West Virginia has been for years noted for the youthfulness of its Governors, Senators, and Representatives, but the more southern States are now conferring political honors upon even those who are too young to have had any war record. There is little or no concerted effort to set aside the "old colonels"; on the contrary, they are honored, because, in the first place, they were prominent and worthy citizens before they were colonels; and secondly, because of their gallantry and self-sacrifice. But it is obvious that they are being supplanted by men of fewer prejudices, of fresher ideas, and of greater vigor.

The infringers of the Bell patents can take little, if any, comfort from the decision of the Supreme Court just rendered, upholding the right of the Government to maintain suits to annul patents on inventions which have been granted illegally by means of fraud upon the Government officials. The principal suits for infringement of these important patents have been decided already in favor of the Bell Telephone Company by the Supreme Court, and the points set up in the Government suit to annul the patent virtually cover the same ground. The points determined in the decision just made relate solely to the question whether or not the Government, under the Constitution and laws, could maintain a suit under any circumstances to annul a patent once granted. This decision settles a long-contested point, and probably will meet with general approval so far as the main question is concerned—that is, that the Government has the right to maintain such suits. The decision, however, would have been received with much greater approval if it had been secured under different auspices, and the suit had been instituted or instigated otherwise than by infringers seeking to gain for themselves benefits which should belong only to a meritorious inventor.

England continues to manifest the most provoking indifference to the result of our Presidential election. One would have thought, in view of the tons of campaign literature carried by our post-offices, circulated in our streets and horse-cars, posted on our dead walls, and borne aloft on our banners, that the whole island would now be in agonies over the loss of Cleveland. But so far is this from the present complexion that Lord Salisbury, in a speech at the Guildhall, rather chuckles over the defeat of Mr. Cleveland as a joke in his own favor, while the English press, even the *Times* and *Spectator*, take rather less interest in it than they would in a tribal conflict in Afghanistan. This may be all artfulness, from which the *Tribune's* Tory Squire will tear off the mask in due time, but at present we can only feel a strong sense of humiliation that the English manufacturers and the Cobden Club are not putting on sackcloth and ashes.

What is exactly the present position of the leading Republican organ, the *Tribune*, and its London correspondent about the Sackville incident, it is a little difficult to make out. Just before the election the *Tribune* described the incident, on the strength of the Squire's despatches, as a conspiracy in the following terms:

> "Mr. Cleveland's Bargain with the British Premier—Trading his Country's Honor for Electioneering Purposes—The Whole Shameful Trick Disclosed — A Secret Understanding with Lord Salisbury—The President Did Not Dismiss Lord Sackville until he had been Assured that England would not be Angry—Lord Salisbury Agreed to his Envoy's Dismissal for the Sake of Having Cleveland Reëlected—If Cleveland is Reëlected he will not Forget his Obligations to the British Government."

This makes Mr. Phelps a participant in a "shameful trick," an accomplice with a foreigner in perpetrating a gross fraud on his own countrymen. Had the affair occurred earlier, and in a more barbarous age, Mr. Phelps would probably have felt justified in inflicting corporal chastisement on the Squire for circulating such a story about him, and nearly all contemporary writers would have said that he richly deserved it. But on Sunday the culprit told a different tale. Says he, with extraordinary impudence:

> "The facts, however, are still very imperfectly known to the British public. The diplomatic correspondence laid before Parliament and published in the papers gives but a fragmentary account of what really happened. The chief novelty in it is the difference between Lord Salisbury and Mr. Phelps respecting what occurred at Hatfield. Lord Salisbury seems to have understood that no decisive action would be taken by the American Government until a fuller statement of their grounds of complaint had been made. It is certain Mr. Phelps neither gave, nor could give, any such assurance."

But how does this hang together with the story that the dismissal of Sackville was arranged beforehand with Salisbury both as to time and manner, and that Salisbury absolutely consented to the dismissal in order to help Cleveland in the election?

The *Nineteenth Century* prints a protest signed by 417 of the foremost men and women in England, so far as intellectual standing is concerned, against the part played by competitive examinations in English schools and colleges. It is probably, in its way, the most remarkable document in educational history. The protest is followed up by short explanatory and confirmatory articles from Max Müller, Edward A. Freeman, and Frederic Harrison. The contention of the signers is that the persistent use of examinations, as the sole or at least main test of the pupil's progress and the teacher's efficiency, has destroyed or is fast destroying in both teacher and pupil the proper sense of the true object of mental training. They have come to regard success in passing examinations as a sufficient proof of education, whereas it may be achieved in a large number of cases without leaving behind a trace of anything which can fairly be called intellectual culture. Unfortunately, the protestants are very weak in the matter of suggesting a remedy. The less we rely on examinations, the higher the order of men and women must be whom we get for teachers; and no community seems as yet willing to take the necessary pains to find the teachers who are competent to keep examinations in their proper place, or to honor and reward them sufficiently for the work done.

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REDISTRIBUTION OF POWER.

WHETHER or not the Republicans prove to have carried their ticket for Presidential electors in West Virginia, the apparent choice of a Legislature which will elect a Republican to the United States Senate practically breaks the "solid South" in a national contest for the first time since its solidity was established a dozen years ago. Virginia in the interval has had non-Democratic legislatures and State officers, but it continued Democratic in Presidential years, and the rise of the Readjuster party was a local phenomenon, rather than a sign of revival of the Republican party as such in the State. The result in West Virginia this year is of an altogether different sort. It has followed a fair fight on the national issue between the two parties, uncomplicated by any exceptional local consideration like the debt question in the Old Dominion. The result surprises no close student of the State's political history. Republicanism was discredited in West Virginia for some years after the war by the virulence at first shown towards the "rebel" element, but it has been steadily gaining ground ever since 1876, when Tilden had 11,148 over Hayes, until Cleveland had only 4,221 over Blaine in 1884, so that the only question before this campaign opened was whether the inevitable Republican victory would come this year or be postponed until 1892.

The solidity of the South, once thus broken, never will be restored. All that held other Southern States in the Democratic column this year was the Bourbonism of Republican Senators in giving support to "Bill" Chandler's policy of threatening to restore the force régime, which enabled the Democratic leaders in that region to arouse the fears of their followers lest the evils of the reconstruction era might return if any of them voted the Republican ticket. The fears were as unreasonable as the threats were ill-advised. Neither will be justified by the event. The irresistible logic of events will prevent anything like a reactionary policy towards the South by the Harrison Administration. Nothing effective could be done under the construction put upon the constitutional amendments by the Supreme Court; nothing in the way of political advantage can be gained by any further agitation of the matter. Chandler is likely to drop out of the Senate next March; but whether he remains or not, his policy will be quietly dropped. Even the Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette* realizes and confesses that the day of the bloody shirt is over. "Shall we then rush to force the States of the solid South into the rude settlement of the most difficult of all questions, that of races commingled on the same soil?" it asks, and thus answers its own question: "No. Let the Southern States gradually follow the example of old Virginia, where manhood suffrage is almost, and soon will be altogether, established beyond question."

But it is not merely true that the solidity of the South has been broken, never to be restored. The relative importance of the South as a factor in Presidential elections has passed its highest point, and must show a marked falling off after the next Federal census, and before the Presidential election of 1892. In 1860 the slave States contained 12,240,293 out of a total population in the United States of 31,443,321, or almost 40 per cent.; and in the Electoral College which chose Lincoln, those States cast 120 out of 303 votes, or almost exactly 40 per cent. As New York then had 35 electoral votes, the union of this State alone with the slave States would have made a majority of the Electoral College.

The census of 1880 showed a slight falling off in the relative importance of the South, the population of the old slave States being then 18,507,324 out of 50,155,783 in all, or 37 per cent.; and the electoral votes of those States upon the basis of that census numbering 153 out of 401, or 38 per cent. New York, which has 36 electoral votes, no longer sufficed to turn the scales if cast with the "solid South"; a dozen other votes must be sought elsewhere in the North. In 1884 New Jersey and Connecticut contributed three more than the necessary number, Indiana keeping them company; and this year, if West Virginia has not changed, New York, joined with New Jersey and Connecticut, would have reëlected Cleveland, even allowing Indiana to Harrison.

But it is already clear that a solid South, even if it could be kept solid, combined with New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, will not furnish enough electoral votes to choose a President after the next apportionment. Since 1880 the region west of the Alleghenies and north of the Ohio River line has been growing far more rapidly than any other part of the country. It has received the greater part of the immense immigration from foreign countries during that period, and it is still largely recruited, as of old, from the New England and Middle States. On the other hand, the South has received but an infinitesimal percentage of the foreign immigration, and, outside of Texas, Arkansas, Florida, and isolated districts in other States, has gained but slightly from the Northern States.

In 1860 the region beyond the Alleghenies contained only 8,608,760 people, or not much more than a quarter of the whole population. In 1880 it had 17,141,052, or more than a third. Its growth in political power was still more striking. In the Electoral College of 1860 the West cast but 73 out of 303 votes—a trifle less than one-quarter; Kansas, Nevada, Nebraska, and Colorado not then being States. Under the apportionment following the census of 1880, that region has 135 out of 401 votes, or a trifle more than one-third. The proportion is certain to be still higher under the census of 1890, upon the basis of population alone.

But another element enters into the account, which must operate decidedly to the advantage of the West in the matter of political power. It is certain that new Territories will speedily be admitted to the Union from the Northwest. North and South Dakota and Washington will undoubtedly be made States during the Fifty-first Congress; probably Montana also; possibly Wyoming with them. The greater the number of States in any part of the country, the greater its relative power, since the smallest State must have three electoral votes, corresponding to its two Senators and one Representative. On the basis of the existing States, the South must inevitably lose proportionally to the rest of the country after the next apportionment. The admission of three, four, or five new Western States will materially increase this relative loss. The gain of the North will be the gain of the West. New England, which in 1800 constituted more than one-fourth of the Electoral College, had sunk by 1860 to but a trifle over one-eighth, and was reduced by the last census to less than one-tenth. New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, which had one-fourth the electoral votes in 1800, had fallen below one-fourth in 1860, and have less than one-fifth now. The solid South, if it could endure, would fall far short of 38 per cent. of the Electoral College after 1890, while the West is certain to raise its proportion far above 34 per cent.

The change will tend still further to eliminate the sectional controversies which grew out of the divisions of the slavery era, and is therefore to that extent cause for congratulation.

THE ENGLISH MISSION.

ONE of the difficulties with which General Harrison will have to contend is the difficulty of finding a suitable person for the English mission in place of Mr. Phelps. For some years back the Republican party has made a show of hostility to England a prominent portion of its outfit, partly to please the Irish, and partly to reassure the manufacturers who are afraid of "British free trade." But it is no easy matter to find any one who will represent this feeling diplomatically in London without disgracing the country. The most prominent candidates for the London mission are generally wealthy men who desire—or whose wives and daughters desire—to cut a figure in London society. The men whom every Administration since the war has tried to send have been men of some intellectual or professional distinction. Reverdy Johnson, Motley, Edwards Pierrepont, John Welsh, and James Russell Lowell have all been men with other claims to social favor than their money. The same thing may be said, but with less emphasis, of Gen. Schenck. President Cleveland maintained this good tradition by sending Mr. Phelps.

But every one of these has given offence to the Irish by maintaining good relations with English society, and to Americans by not pushing Americans who wished to get into English society with sufficient vigor, and has in this way indirectly brought odium on the Administration at home. Presidents Hayes and Arthur suffered much from Mr. Lowell's popularity in London, and President Cleveland has suffered from Mr. Phelps's. Indeed, we believe it is hardly a secret that Mr. Phelps's nomination for the Chief Justiceship was fully determined on,

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but abandoned in deference to the wishes, or rather threats, of an Irish delegation.

This is undoubtedly a humiliating position for a great Government with regard to any high office, but it is one which shows no sign of mending. The American passion for shining in English society, which hardly existed as long as there was such easy access to the Court of the Tuileries and Compiègne, has grown with wonderful rapidity within the last twenty years, partly owing to the fostering influence of the Prince of Wales, and partly to the multiplication in this country of incomes so large that American manners and customs furnish no proper or suitable occasion for spending them. English social traditions impose on a very rich man an obligation to live up to his income, and furnish him, in the state of the great nobles, with a model for the organization of his household which saves the newly enriched a world of trouble and perplexity. When a man finds himself in possession of a very large revenue in England, and does not know what to do with it, he has only to see how the Duke of Westminster or the Duke of Buccleuch lives, to get an idea of the sort of thing, at all events, for which he ought to strive with his own money.

In this country he has no such helps or reliefs. Until very recently our rich men made a point of living plainly and affecting frugality. Men desirous of political distinction have to do so still, but only a small proportion of our very rich men now care for political distinction. What they seek is social distinction —that is, association with people whose company is, for one reason or other, a little exciting, and whose surroundings and tastes are luxurious, and who make amusement a serious business. They cannot find this at home, so they seek it in England ; and, of course, if they can seek it with ambassadorial rank and privileges, all the better. Hence a world of trouble for every new Administration. Almost every man in America with over $30,000 a year thinks he would make a beautiful Minister to England, and his wife knows he would. Distance gives splendor to all foreign missions, but the London mission it positively glorifies. There is hardly a politician in the West, from the humble ward-worker up to the Congressman of the "deestrict," who does not in the inner recesses of his heart believe he would be the idol of the imperial circle at Vienna, or a favorite evening companion of the Czar or King Humbert, if clothed with American diplomatic robes. But for the "better element," what Gen. Butler used to call the "white-cravat and daily-bath men," there is no place like London, as Gen. Harrison will soon find out. There are plenty of American citizens to-day to whom an assurance of this mission would be worth a $50,000 contribution to "Matt" Quay's campaign fund; and the more unfitted a man is for it, either socially or intellectually, the more, of course, he is willing to pay.

But no matter which kind of man he sends—the vulgar rich man, who would like to show Londoners that he too has liveried lackeys and smart turnouts and heavy silver plate and is sure to furnish them with private club jokes at his own expense and that of his wife; or the cultivated American, who can command the respect of the best English company by his mental equipment, his manners, his self-respect, and his long familiarity with the way people of refinement live—the President will find himself in trouble. Either variety will enjoy English society, and let it be seen plainly that he does so; and the result will be that he will offend both "the plain American," who thinks a real American ought to call on the Queen in his shirt-sleeves and walk London streets with his boots outside his trousers, and the patriotic Irishman, who thinks the American Minister ought to leave a threat of war at the British Foreign Office every morning, to procure the release of some ill-used member of the National League, or the pardon of a meritorious murderer. No Administration can escape responsibility in the eyes of these two classes for the demeanor of its London representative; and the more efficient he is from the purely diplomatic point of view—that is, the more agreeable and welcome he is to the society to which he is accredited—the more political injury he is likely to do to the Government at home.

The "presentation" trouble alone is increasing at a rate which threatens before long serious international complications. There is a growing feeling that every American, with the means of purchasing a return ticket to Great Britain, and reasonably well dressed, has a right to be presented by his Minister, in company with his wife and one daughter, to the Queen, or the Prince and Princess of Wales representing the Queen. All recent Ministers have resisted this claim successfully, but they have resisted it at the cost of great rancor and heart-burning. They have thereby sent home hundreds of "enemies of the Administration" who had gone out feeling kindly enough towards it. If the Queen had not to be consulted in the matter, the pressure would long ago have been irresistible. But can the Queen hold out indefinitely? Will the state of the British navy and of her poorer classes warrant her in holding out? Will the Cobden Club let her hold out? These are questions Gen. Harrison will have to answer for himself, and we do not envy him his task.

THE FUTURE OF THE COPPER SYNDICATE.

MANY writers are predicting the speedy downfall of the syndicate which now controls the world's supply of copper. At present prices, consumption by no means equals production. The unsold stock is constantly increasing. Most observers rush to the natural conclusion that this increase must ultimately ruin M. Secretan and his associates.

Of the facts with regard to production and consumption, there can be no doubt; nor is there any doubt that the unsold stocks are also increasing. Yet the conclusions drawn from these facts may be wrong. There are certain contingencies, as pointed out by M. Georges de Laveleye in the *Moniteur des Intérêts Matériels*, under which this unsold stock may be a source of strength, instead of weakness, to the syndicate. The matter can best be understood by some reference to the recent history of copper production and prices. Owing to new processes and to the discovery of new mines, the copper product has grown rapidly, having doubled within about fifteen years. The consumption has also increased, but not so rapidly as the production. Even at the extremely low prices which prevailed two years ago, the excess of production over consumption was something like 50,000 tons annually. The London price was driven down to about £40 per ton, or about 9 cents a pound, for Chili bars. For a large number of the mines this figure was not remunerative. Some of them closed their business, and a great many more strove to contract operations as much as possible.

It was at this juncture that the syndicate began its operations. It quietly purchased the floating stock of 50,000 tons at very low rates, and at the same time it made contracts with the leading producers of the world, agreeing to take their product for the next three years at a decidedly higher figure. Most of these contracts were made at about £65 per ton, which then seemed to the producers a highly profitable operation. In this way the syndicate obtained control of something like three-fifths of the world's annual product. The monopoly was even more complete than it seemed, because the other two-fifths of the product came from the smaller and weaker mines, whose chance of independent action was less than that of the mines controlled by the syndicate. Under the influence of this monopoly the price was rapidly raised to £80 per ton, where it has since been maintained. In individual cases, the syndicate forced speculators who had "sold short" to settle at even higher figures; but the price just named is that which seems to have been fixed for Europe.

If consumption did not equal production at the low prices ruling a year or two since, it is obvious that the difference must be even greater under present circumstances. The syndicate stand face to face with an annual product of 250,000 tons (of which they control about 150,000) and an annual consumption of not much over 200,000. In order to maintain prices, they must be prepared to absorb the excess of each year, and carry it as long as may be necessary. If they start with 50,000 tons at the outset, at the expiration of their three years' contract they will find themselves loaded with 200,000 tons. The first question is, whether they have the capital to do it. This can probably be answered in the affirmative. Their present system of contracts enables them to sell 100,000 tons annually at a profit of £15 per ton. This will not, of course, enable them to purchase 50,000 tons outright at £65 a ton, but it will readily enable them to put up whatever margins may be necessary for this operation, and to pay the interest on the capital involved, with much additional profit to spare.

But what will be their situation at the expiration of the three years? Will they be able to continue their operations when their contracts expire and when prices are once

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more ruled by free competition? Will not their present temporary profit be more than swallowed up by a subsequent fall in price? Most observers believe that the outcome cannot fail to be disastrous to the syndicate. Yet this result is by no means sure. It may be that the stock thus accumulated will prevent a return to the system of free competition, and will force the mine-owners to renew their contracts at the expiration of their present term in a manner more favorable to the syndicate and less so to the producers and consumers.

If we take the result of three years' operations under present prices, we shall find that the syndicate has made a profit of £15 on each ton actually sold, or say £4,500,000 in the aggregate. They will further have a stock of 200,000 tons on hand, for 50,000 tons of which they have paid £40, and £65 for the rest. Interest charges are slight in any event, because of the initial profit on the first operations; and, such as they are, they are probably much more than covered by the gains on subsidiary transactions in which the syndicate has engaged. If the syndicate should at the end of three years have to dispose of its product at £40 a ton, there would still remain a profit on the whole transaction, as will be seen by the following figures:

Expenditures.		
50,000 tons @ £40..	£2,000,000	
450,000 tons @ £65..	29,250,000	
		£31,250,000
Receipts.		
300,000 tons @ £80..	£24,000,000	
200,000 tons @ £40..	8,000,000	
		£32,000,000

With the capital which they undoubtedly control they could even go further, and dispose of their product at £30 per ton or seven cents per pound, without anything like financial ruin as a result of their operations.

But what will be the condition of the copper producers under these circumstances? Our past experience shows that there are comparatively few mines for which a European price of £40 per ton is really remunerative. They will have to face the alternative either of a conflict with a syndicate already possessed of 200,000 tons of copper, which it is prepared to sell at £40 or even £30 a ton, or of making a new contract with that syndicate on such terms as it may be willing to offer. Looked at in this light, the accumulated stock will form a powerful means in the hands of the syndicate of forcing the copper-producers to make a new agreement on such terms as it may choose. The first results of this kind are beginning to show themselves in some remodelled contracts which are now being made with European mines. It is, of course, impossible to tell just what those terms will be. The syndicate may attempt to limit the annual product in such fashion as to prevent accumulations in the future; or it may strive to fix the price so low that it can sell to consumers at a lower price and thus increase the demands of the market, while at the same time making it unprofitable for outside producers, not under contract with the syndicate, to extend their operations in the way which they are now tempted to undertake. In either case, the final position of the syndicate would be much stronger than it is to-day, while the copper producers would have less advantage than at present.

This result, it will be observed, is subject to three contingencies. It may, of course, happen that the syndicate has not sufficient capital to carry through its operations, in which case the result would inevitably be disastrous; but there is no evidence that such is the case. Or it may be that certain mine-owners will think it worth while to fight the syndicate for a time, in the belief that their resources will be sufficient to give them a controlling position in the long run. But the large stocks of copper in the hands of the syndicate do not increase the probability of such a result. While they may, in a certain sense, weaken its powers of financial endurance, they also tell severely against the chances of any competitor who may strive to enter the field. In other words, they make the struggle more disastrous for both parties, and not for the syndicate alone. There is still a third contingency, that new discoveries of copper may increase the independent product not now controlled by the syndicate; but there seems to be no immediate prospect of any such result with the stronger companies. From the weaker mines M. Secretan has little or nothing to fear. It is far more advantageous to them to sell their copper at the present high rates than to try to obtain any controlling position in the industry. They neither have any inducement to enter upon a destructive competition, nor the power to sustain it if it were once begun. Looked at in the light of all these facts, the position of the syndicate is stronger than most people think.

THE LONDON MURDERS.

The resignation of Sir Charles Warren, the head of the London police force, is a very good sample of expiatory sacrifice. There has not been a thing said against him in relation to the Whitechapel murders which really touches his efficiency. He is accused of making the police too much of a military body, and thus separating it too much from the population to which it ministers; but that this has in any degree increased the difficulty of catching this particular criminal has not been shown. The first of these murders was committed over six months ago. Since then the most expert detectives, both regulars and volunteers, have been on the track of the murderer without result. Much fame and a large reward has for some time awaited the person who should catch him, but no such person has appeared. Sir Charles Warren says the police have acted on the suggestions furnished by 1,400 letters, without any result. Of course this is very wonderful, but it proves nothing against the efficiency of the police in this particular case, and he has to resign in obedience to the demand for an expiatory offering, which the public in times of trouble calls for almost as eagerly in the modern as in the ancient world. It is true he goes out ostensibly for writing an article in one of the magazines about his own force, which is against the rules, and it is also true that he has been very unpopular with the London Radicals ever since he broke up the meetings in Trafalgar Square; but neither of these things would have hurt him if he had found "Jack the Ripper."

Among the few explanations of the difficulty of discovering the murderer which have had any value, is a suggestion of our Pinkerton, that the crookedness of the London streets, and the multitude of courts and nooks in certain quarters, facilitate the commission of crimes of this sort, and the escape of the perpetrators. It is quite true that London in this respect offers a marked contrast to New York, where all, or nearly all, the streets are straight, and cross each other at right angles, and where the houses have no back alleys. But Boston is in all these things nearly as badly off as London, and does not seem to suffer in consequence. In fact, as nearly as we can see, the secret of the murderer's success lies in the class in which he finds all his victims. Both their habit of nocturnal roving in secluded places, and the facility with which they can be approached, make them an easy prey. The really unaccountable thing is that nobody has been found in any lodging-house, or tavern, or human habitation of any kind, after these butcheries, with blood on his clothes, and that no cast-off, blood-stained clothes have been found anywhere. That anybody can cut up a living body as this murderer does, without staining his clothes, seems impossible. Where, then, does he go after he has done the deed? There is undoubtedly a sharp look-out for him in every haunt of vice and crime in London. The class of women whom he slaughters is now full of suspicious horror about every man they see. Any thief or vagrant can get a good reward by putting the police on his track. To hide or change his clothes, or burn them, without attracting anybody's attention, when everybody is on the watch, would seem a task of extraordinary difficulty, and yet it has been achieved.

The mystery is not lessened by setting him down as a lunatic with homicidal tendencies. Lunatics are often very clever or cunning in concealing their intention to commit a crime, but they rarely show any special skill in concealing a crime after it has been committed. They do not hide either themselves or the evidences of their guilt with any adroitness; in fact, their usual resort, if stricken with remorse, or afraid of being caught after committing a murder, is to kill themselves. But this man appears to be just as skilful in covering up his tracks as he is in the work of slaughter. It is said he must be a doctor or a medical student, he cuts so skilfully; but the best dissector cannot keep the blood off his clothes when he kills a person with a knife in the open street, or keep people from asking what he is about if he tries to hide them, or wash them, or burn them. Taken altogether, the affair must be set down as the most puzzling in the history of crime.

IRRIGATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

In the United States, irrigation is employed extensively in Colorado, Utah, and California. Colorado has by far the greatest irrigable area,

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and there the laws respecting the use of water for agriculture are the most perfect. Nature seems to have ordained that this State shall lead in irrigation. Within its borders are congregated the highest ranges and peaks of the Rocky Mountains; it is the veritable Dome of the Continent. On the countless square miles of its lofty summits fall the heaviest mantles of snow, the sources of an unfailing water supply. All the great rivers west of the Missouri, except the Columbia, commence their courses in this State. The Platte, the Arkansas, the Rio Grande, and the Colorado rise nearly together in central Colorado, and in summer are large, swollen rivers before they leave its confines. No Western State or Territory, therefore, is nearly so abundantly supplied with water and streams as Colorado. This advantage, together with its favorableness of location with respect to immigration, and its vast extent of most fertile farming land, assures to it the foremost rank in agriculture among the mountain States.

The canal system of Colorado at this time embraces 5,000 linear miles of large and small ditches. It represents investments of private capital amounting to $12,000,000, and furnishes water for two and a half millions of acres. So attractive are canal enterprises to those familiar with them that many miles of canals are now being constructed, notwithstanding the fact that there are at this time fully one million of acres of fine, unoccupied, and unimproved land situate in the irrigated territory. The young State needs people rather than reservoirs and more canals.

The water of every natural stream is declared by the Constitution of Colorado the property of the public, and is dedicated to the people's use. There are no riparian rights. The canals are taken out of the rivers and creeks, and at present furnish water only for valley lands. The fertile plain-ranges and smooth *mesa*- or table-lands lie above the level of the streams, and must eventually be supplied with water by great and costly systems of reservoirs. When all the water of a stream is claimed and appropriated by ditches, it becomes a source of contention among its users, and the law is active in determining and enforcing the rights of the respective canal companies. The law is based on the principle that the right to water is acquired by priority of utilization; that is to say, the courts hold that water should not be taken away from those who first have utilized it in good faith. If, for instance, a canal has used the full capacity of a stream, it is for ever entitled to all the waters of that stream. The volume of a river from which several canals are conducted having been estimated in cubic feet per second * of time by the State Engineer, each ditch company appears before the district court, which has jurisdiction subject to appeal to the Supreme Court, and shows when it was constructed, what its capacity is, and how much water it has used, or can use, for actual tillage. The court thereupon decrees to each company the number of cubic feet of water per second it is entitled to draw each season from the stream, and its rank of priority, *i. e.*, its order of precedence with respect to other canals supplied from the same stream.

These decrees are, of course, enforced. The State Engineer has general supervision of all matters pertaining to irrigation, and he is required by law to see that water is distributed in accordance with the court's injunctions. The State is divided into water districts, and for each district the Governor appoints a water commissioner, whose term of office is two years. It is his duty to divide the water in the streams of his district among the several canals, according to their rights as determined by the court; and, if need be, he may summon the sheriff to assist him in the discharge of his duties. The water commissioners are under the direction of the superintendents of irrigation, who have charge of the water divisions, each division embracing several water districts. The especial duty of the superintendents is to see that the laws are properly executed, and that the judicial decrees are enforced by the commissioners. The superintendents are under the general supervision of the State Engineer, and anybody has a right of appeal to him from a superintendent. The commissioners must report fully to the superintendents as often as the latter desire, respecting the supply of and demand for water in their respective districts, and all other matters deemed worthy of attention.

So much for the relation of the State to the canals. What are the farmers' relations to them? Water is disposed of to consumers in two ways—by rental and by absolute sale of the right to it. A company rarely attempts to dispose of water under both plans, for that has not been found practicable. A corporation seeking a permanent investment may construct a canal for the purpose of renting water to farmers at an annual rental "per inch."* Water rents, in Colorado, are from $1.50 to $2.50 an acre (or an "inch") per annum. If a farmer regards the rental exorbitant, he may have the matter brought up before the county commissioners, who, after hearing evidence on the part of the consumer and the company, can fix the sum. Their decision is final, so that practically the people control the rate. The principle which inspires the law to adopt this procedure is that the canal companies do not *own* the water, but are public carriers. If a farmer has once used water on his land, he can always compel the company to furnish it to him upon tendering each year the rental price established by the commissioners, the theory being that water, once applied to a tract of land, is a fixed appurtenance as long as the rental is paid. It cannot be transferred by the company or the farmer to other land without the consent of both parties.

But the usual and most popular plan of disposing of water is to *sell* a "perpetual right" to its use. When the constructing company on this plan has sold all of its water, the canal is owned and operated by the farmers as a stock company, shares of stock representing "inches" of water. The corporation is then a mutual company, escaping the hindrances of the law; and the consumer owns the right to his water, and pays only the annual charge for "maintenance and operation"—generally ten cents per acre. "Perpetual rights" on this plan are worth from five to twenty-five dollars per acre. While the parent corporation exists, the purchaser obtains a deed or contract for his "perpetual water-right"—a temporary evidence of the right to use water. A "perpetual water-right," or simply a "water-right," is a right, good for all time, to sufficient water to irrigate eighty acres. When the farmers reorganize the company on a final basis, "water-right" contracts or deeds are superseded by shares of stock.

How the consumer farms under the irrigation system, and what are some of his advantages, next deserve notice. The farmer must conduct the water to his land from the head-gate, or opening, through which he takes his supply. The head-gate is always under the control of the superintendent of the canal, who divides the volume among the users. Each man's water flows over a weir—a device for measuring exactly how much the consumer receives. A lateral, or small ditch, is built from the main canal by the farmers of a neighborhood, and from it each one takes his share of the supply. The user contrives to conduct his water along the highest side of his farm in a smaller lateral, whence the stream is distributed over his fields by flooding, or conveyed in small channels between the rows of crops. Crops are usually supplied with water three times from the middle of May until about the first of August. A skilful man can irrigate from eighty to one hundred and twenty acres of grain during a season, and can "go over" eighty acres in eight or ten days. In the fall, another irrigation usually takes place, so that the ground may be in condition the following spring to germinate the seed. Very rarely is fall grain sown in Colorado.

Frustrated by neither drought nor flood, the husbandman is able to mature his crops to perfection, to accelerate or retard their ripening, and to bring harvest to suit his convenience. By applying water, he can keep half of his field green while he harvests the other half. The growth of grain is almost marvellous. In parts of the State, solid fields of oats and wheat five feet tall, with heads in proportion, are common. The grain itself is perfect in quality and usually over-weighs. But alfalfa (or lucerne) and leguminous plants yield the most astonishing results. Alfalfa is the most beautiful, wonderful, and profitable crop raised in the Rocky Mountain region. A field of it, with its sweet-scented, purple blossoms, is a perfect garden of beauty and perfume. It is a kind of clover and highly nutritious; it grows about two feet high, and, being perennial, its roots reach down usually five feet deep. Alfalfa is first harvested in June; then water is applied, and in four weeks it is cut again; the water is reapplied, and it is ready for another harvest a month later. Each cutting of a good crop will yield two tons. It is worth in Colorado from $7 to $10 per ton. It will been seen that irrigation is simply an *insurance*—it assures a certainty of return for the year's work.

In passing from the subject of irrigation in Colorado, attention should be called to the surprising effect of the canals on the volume of a stream. It would seem natural that, if the full capacity of a river were directed into a channel, there would be no supply for ditches lower down the stream. With this in mind, the people of western Kansas and Nebraska, realizing the necessity of irrigation, are inclined to complain because all of the water in the eastern-flowing streams of Colorado is appropriated before reaching their borders. However, both experiment and theory show that their fears are groundless. The State Engineer of Colorado gives the result of his investigation of this subject in his report for 1885-86, before there was any expectation of inter-State contention, and when the people of those parts of the plains more remote from the mountains had no thought of the necessity of irrigation for their region. He made the experiment in the Cache-la-Poudre, a stream of northern Colorado, and says: "Starting with a flow of 127,609 cubic feet per second in the cañon, before any water is drawn into canals, the volume at the lower point, after supplying fifteen canals, had in-

* A cubic foot per second is becoming the module in Colorado, and is that volume of water which will flow, during the irrigating season, through an orifice one foot square. It is sufficient to irrigate about fifty-four acres.

* An "inch" of water means the "statutory inch," *i. e.*, that volume of water which will flow in a second of time through an inch-square orifice, under a five-inch pressure. An "inch" of water is generally considered, in Colorado, sufficient to irrigate one acre; but it is an inaccurate term, and is fast falling into disuse.

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creased to 214,508 feet per second, showing an addition of more than two-thirds of the original amount, to supply canals farther down the valley." The reason for this is, that all the water withdrawn from the river for irrigation gradually seeps back into it, making a steady and reliable current. But for this fact, the water would rush down the sandy beds of the rivers in torrential streams, disappear quickly, and be of slight avail for the irrigator's purposes.

That irrigation is destined to be practised widely in the United States admits of no doubt. Without it, the western half of our country would not be susceptible of cultivation. All the valleys and great parks and *mesas* of the West—whether at an elevation of 500 or 5,000 feet, whether in the Rocky Mountains, the Sierra Nevadas or the Coast Range—demand irrigation. The same may be said of the vast arid plains—the "bad lands" of America—which lie between the twenty-second and twenty-seventh meridians. Although their soil is almost as rich as that of the valley of the Ganges, they are, without water, a desert, and with water, marvellously productive. They will some time be covered with extensive and costly systems of reservoirs stretching eastward from the mountain lakes. Nor is it venturesome to predict that irrigation will some time be quite extensively employed in considerable portions at least of the Eastern, Middle, and Southern States. There are two grounds for this prediction. The sure and sufficient supply of water for his crops is the greatest desideratum for the farmer. Irrigation not only provides this supply, but it fertilizes the land. The silt-bearing, mountain water spreads rich soil-food over the fields, and renews and reinvigorates them each season. Although the expense of constructing irrigating canals in the States east of the Mississippi would be great, the enormous sums now expended in fertilizing stuffs, which would not then be needed, might perhaps pay the whole cost. If, for instance, the farmers of the Genesee Valley in New York State should distribute over their farms the never-failing waters of their neighboring lakes with the vast amount they pay annually for guanos, their outlay per annum might be no greater than at present, and their income would be greatly increased. Guanos add nothing to the permanent melioration of their farms; but the irrigating canals would be a fixed improvement, and, making possible the increased revenues arising from the additional quantity and the improved quality of the grain produced, and produced without failure, would add to the value of their farms many fold.

LUCIEN BONAPARTE.

PARIS, November 1, 1888.

AN anonymous work has just appeared on Prince Lucien Bonaparte. "We publish this notice," says the unknown writer, "in the hope of proving to all who, from interest or through passion, have pretended to separate Lucien Bonaparte from the Imperial family, and who look upon him as a mere private individual, without any connection with the throne, that if, from the most honorable motives of personal pride and of fidelity to beloved beings, he thought it a necessity to escape for many years from the domination of his all-powerful brother, he returned to him when he saw the storm gathering about his head. The reconciliation was sincere on both sides, and he reëntered, therefore, the family circle, and resumed the titles and honors to which his birth gave him a right."

Lucien was the third son of Charles Bonaparte and of Letizia Ramolino. Charles, the father, died at Montpellier in 1785, leaving eight children, five sons and three daughters. Here is the list of them: Joseph, born in 1768, died in Florence in 1844 (King of Naples and of Spain). Napoleon, born in 1769 (there has been much discussion about the exact date of his birth), Emperor of the French, died at St. Helena in 1821. Lucien, born in 1775, died at Viterbo in 1840. Eliza, born in 1777, died at Trieste in 1820 (Grand Duchess of Tuscany). Louis, born in 1770, died in 1846 (King of Holland). Pauline, born in 1780, died in 1825 (Princess Borghese). Caroline, born in 1782, died in 1839 (Queen of Naples, the wife of Murat). Jerome, born in 1784, died in 1860 (King of Westphalia). All these names have become historical. We see in this list that Lucien came immediately after Napoleon, who came himself after Joseph. Lucien began his education at Autun and continued it at the Seminary of Aix, after a short stay at the school of Brienne. He was preparing himself for ecclesiastical life when the Revolution broke out. He adopted its principles, and entered into the struggle of the Corsicans, who remained faithful to France, against Paoli. The whole Bonaparte family being proscribed from the island, Lucien fled to Toulon, and the Government gave him a small office worth 1,200 francs a year, at Saint Maximin, in the Department of the Var. He was twenty years old; and, little suspecting his future destinies, he married the sister of the keeper of a small inn in which he lived, Catherine Boyer. The author of the memoir before me is obliged to confess that the education of this Catherine, whom her husband often called Christine, was neglected; that, not knowing how to write, she was unable to sign her marriage papers.

In 1795 Lucien was appointed inspector in the military administration. He had some difficulties with the revolutionists of the province, and was for a moment put in prison at Aix. By the influence of his brother Napoleon, he was released, and appointed *commissaire des guerres* in the armies of Germany and of the North. He afterwards returned to Corsica, with instructions from Bonaparte, and was appointed a member of the Council of the Five Hundred. Though he was not yet eligible, on account of his youth, his election was validated. After a while, he took his place in the ranks of the Opposition. "Ah!" said one day Sieyès to Lucien, "why do we not have a sword on our side? Why is your brother not here?" His brother was in Egypt; when he landed at Fréjus, there was a great feeling of joy in France and in Paris. Joseph and Lucien met him on his way; public opinion was prepared for a change, and everybody longed for it. Lucien had been elected president of the Five Hundred. He put his brother Napoleon in relations with Sieyès. The first interview took place on the 10th Brumaire, in Lucien's house. Sieyès and Napoleon came immediately to an agreement. "Occupy yourself," said Bonaparte, "with the transfer of the two councils to Saint-Cloud and with the establishment of a provisional government. I approve of the reduction of this government to three persons, and, since it is judged necessary, I am willing to be one of the three consuls, with you and with your colleague Roger-Ducos."

The 18th Brumaire was chosen for the day of the execution of this plan. I will not relate the history of this famous day, but will only say that Lucien was one of the principal actors in the drama. He left the presidential chair, he spoke to the troops: "I confide to the soldiers the care of liberating the majority of the representatives of the people; once liberated from poniards by bayonets, we shall be able to deliberate in peace on the destinies of the Republic." The poniards were a fable, the bayonets a reality. The Directory was suppressed, the executive power given to a commission of three consuls, and the Chamber was adjourned. The author of the 'Secret Memoirs of Lucien' says: "The true author of the 18th Brumaire, Lucien hindered the demagogues of the Five Hundred from profiting by Napoleon's discomfiture in order to outlaw him. Lucien, surrounded with threats and with clamorous voices, refused, as President, to put to vote the decree which outlawed his brother, and which might have altered the dispositions of the troops which had been brought for the dissolution of the Council. Five grenadiers, into whose arms Bonaparte had fallen, would have been a feeble barrier against furious men; and if Lucien had not struggled as he did against those who tried to tear him from his chair, the plot would have failed and turned against its author."

Lucien was appointed Minister of the Interior at twenty-four years of age. The Home Office at that time comprised also Public Instruction, Letters and Arts. His sister Eliza, married to M. Baciocchi, kept his salon, where he received the writers of the time—Fontanes, La Harpe, Chateaubriand, just come back from the emigration, Roederer, Boufflers, who seemed a remnant of the eighteenth century. The wife of Lucien, whom he kept in the background, the illiterate Christine Boyer, died at that time, leaving him two young daughters (one became a Princess Gabrielli, and died in 1865, the other was married in 1818 to a M. Arved, a Swede, and in 1824 to Lord Dudley Stuart, and died in Rome in 1847).

When Bonaparte returned from the campaign of Marengo, he quarrelled with his brother Lucien. They were both hot-tempered, and Lucien, in a fit of anger, threw his portfolio on the table of the First Consul. He was sent as Ambassador to Spain, and obtained at Madrid the retrocession of Louisiana to France. He offered Tuscany, which had been erected into a kingdom under the name of Etruria, to the Infant Duke of Parma, who was married to the Infanta Maria-Louisa. The King and Queen of Spain loaded him with presents. He wrote to his brother: "For the treaty of Tuscany, I have received twenty-five pictures from the gallery of the Retiro, for my gallery, and 100,000 écus in diamonds. I shall receive as much for the peace of Portugal. If money were my passion, I should already be a millionaire. . . . I dare not look attentively at anything, for fear it will be offered to me. . . . The King and Queen have offered me all the orders of Spain, the Golden Fleece, and a pension of 100,000 francs. I answered as you imagine; then their Majesties told me they gave me all that *in pectore*." When Lucien was recalled, he made his parting visit, and we read in the 'Souvenirs' of Prince Pierre Bonaparte, the son of Lucien: "Sapey, the first secretary, received a magnificent diamond snuff-box. Lucien wondered if he had been forgotten, when there arrived, for the Ambassador, the full-length portrait of the King." The frame was wrapped up in paper. "Sapey opened the paper cover, and what did he find? Uncut diamonds innumerable, to the amount of five millions of francs! Such was the origin of Lucien's fortune." Lucien returned to France, with his diamonds carefully packed in little bags, under a strong escort of cavalry. On his arrival, he entered the Tribunate, and in 1803 he was appointed Senator and Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor.

At the death of the young Infant of Parma, whom Lucien had helped to make King of

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Etruria, the First Consul asked Lucien to marry Maria Louisa, his widow. She was the third daughter of Charles IV. of Spain. Lucien refused; he had secretly married a French woman, Alexandrine de Bleschamp, who was the widow of a M. Jouberthon of Nantes. Mme. Jouberthon was very handsome. She had some difficulties in producing the legal documents necessary for a civil marriage, for M. Jouberthon had died in Saint Domingo. Lucien had at first only a religious marriage, and had kept it secret from his brother. When the papers arrived, the civil marriage was celebrated and announced to Napoleon. Napoleon became so infuriated with his brother that Lucien thought it necessary to leave France. He went to Rome, and when the senatus-consultum of May 18 established the Empire, Lucien and Jerome were formally excluded from the line of succession (Jerome only reconquered his place in 1806, when he divorced Eliza Paterson). Various attempts were made towards a reconciliation of the two brothers. Lucien went to see Napoleon at Mantua, in 1807, after the Emperor had signed the Peace of Tilsit. Napoleon was anxious that his brother should be divorced, and, showing him a map of Europe, told him to choose for himself: "All this is mine, or will soon be mine. I can dispose of it all. Will you have Naples? I will take it from Joseph, who does not care for it. . . . What will you have? Speak. Whatever you like is yours, if your divorce precedes mine." Lucien answered that even the Kingdom of France could not tempt him. The last word of Napoleon was: "Everything for Lucien divorced, nothing for Lucien without a divorce."

In 1810 Lucien's name was struck from the list of Senators. In the letter addressed by Napoleon to Laplace, the Chancellor of the Senate, we read:

"Lucien has abandoned himself to a shameful passion for a woman who by her conduct had placed an insurmountable barrier between herself and whatever is honest. We judged that he could not be comprised in the line of heredity. While we raised our brothers to the rank which suited their birth and the interests of our crown, he remained in the state of a private individual. Since we have been struggling against great dangers and have had to fight a European coalition, his duty ought to have brought him back to our side, and we had a right to count upon the talents which he received from Heaven. He has always been deaf to our voice; he has finally looked for a refuge out of the Empire, and has placed himself under the protection of the Powers which he knew to be ill disposed to our throne, and has rendered more irrevocable his renunciation of all his duties towards us, towards the Senate, towards the country."

What had Lucien done? He was on the most excellent terms with the Pope, who had shown him great kindness; he had remained on his estate at Canino, which the Pope had sold to him. He was desirous to remain neutral between the Pope and the Emperor, but the Emperor did not permit any such neutrality. Lucien resolved to go to America, and asked for English passports, in order to go to the United States.

A GERMAN HOME FOR AGED WOMEN.

DRESDEN, October, 1888.

IN spite of Julian Hawthorne's bitter vilification of the Saxon capital and its people, "all the world" continues to come year after year to the beautiful city on the Elbe; and small indeed must be the town, even in Western America or Eastern Russia, where there is not at least one heart that cherishes pleasant memories of Dresden. Yet I venture to assert that few remember Dresden as a city of benevolent institutions, though it possesses several that would enjoy considerable notoriety in a town having fewer attractions of a more brilliant character. It has been my good fortune to become intimately acquainted with one of these, the Consolidated Hospital for Women, or Materni Hospital, as it is usually called, after the chief of the united foundations. "Hospital" is now a misnomer, for the institution has become simply a home for aged women; and in case of prolonged serious sickness, an inmate is removed to a hospital proper.

The beginnings of the institution go back to very early days. The first we know of the Materni Hospital is that in the year 1280 Henry the Illustrious, Margrave of Meissen, presented it to his daughter-in-law, Helena, the wife of Margrave Dietrich of Landsberg, who, in turn, 1291, transferred it to St. Clara's Convent at Seusslitz, from which it passed over, in 1329, to the Town Council of Dresden, and became an asylum for respectable burgher women without means. The Bartholomæi Hospital seems also to date from the thirteenth century. It was founded by citizens of Dresden as a hospital for persons afflicted with leprosy and other contagious diseases, but, on the establishment of other hospitals, assumed a character similar to that of the Materni Hospital. "There were eight inmates besides the hospital master (who had charge of the fields belonging to the home, and whose duty it was in early days to go about the town once a week and take up a collection) and his wife, who had charge of the cows." Little is known of the origin and history of the Brücken Hospital. It seems to have been at first an ordinary hospital at the old bridge over the Elbe, and was maintained by the bridge funds; in time it too became a home for old women, and was removed to another location.

The plan of a consolidation of these three institutions was one of the beneficial results of the reform movement which set in after 1830, at which time the direct representatives of the people began to have a share in the city government. A large piece of land on Freiberger Street belonging to the Bartholomæi Hospital was purchased by the Materni Hospital, and here a building was erected according to the modified plans of the celebrated architect Gottfried Semper, who built the old theatre and planned the present one. The building was opened in 1838, and cost $63,549,* besides $2,431 for furnishing. It contains eighty-two rooms for the inmates proper, and apartments for the superintendent and his family, his assistants, and the servants. In time more room was required, and the necessary funds ($55,231) being furnished by the city from the surplus of the City Savings Bank, a new building was erected in 1883 on the same piece of land and in the same style. It is connected with the Old House by a covered passage, and has accommodations for sixty-seven inmates, beside bath-rooms, kitchen, etc., and servants' quarters. The buildings have the form of an Π, are three stories high, including the ground floor, and have broad and well-lighted staircases and corridors. The stairs are of stone and the floors of wood. The walls in the hallways are painted light brown to a height of four feet from the floor, and above have a faint blue tint like the walls of the rooms, while the ceilings are white—altogether a combination very cheerful and agreeable to the eye. Each room is heated separately by the stove in it, and in the New House the corridors are also heated by a furnace, so that even in the winter time the old ladies can walk about, or sit on the fine heavy oaken benches and chat while their rooms are airing. The water-closets have recently been arranged on the modern plan, and in the New House an excellent system of ventilation has been provided. Here, too, are the bath-rooms with hot and cold water and all appliances, where each inmate is required to bathe at least once a fortnight. Here, as well as over each bed, is the button of the electric signal calling the attendant.

The whole institution is managed by the Materni Hospital proper, which receives as compensation from the other foundations a yearly allowance of $60 for each individual it cares for on their behalf; and the money given weekly to each inmate also comes from the treasury of the foundation to which she belongs. From time to time there are made by benevolent persons other foundations, sometimes only supporting one person at a time, and these are attached to the Materni Hospital in the same way. All inmates are on the same footing and have the same advantages, but the conditions of entrance differ slightly in the various foundations. Since the consolidation, the fiftieth anniversary of which has just been celebrated, the number of places has risen, not counting the 29 provided for by new foundations, from 28 to 120. This remarkable increase has been made possible by the rise in the value of the property of the institution, the accumulation of unused interest, and the gifts and bequests of inmates and others. The capital of the Materni Hospital is at present $205,956, that of the Bartholomæi Hospital $106,331, that of the Brücken Hospital $9,856, and that of the new foundations about $113,000. Besides this the Materni Hospital owns real estate to the value of $352,722, and the Bartholomæi Hospital to that of $44,299. The institution and its property are controlled by the City Council, and more immediately by one of its members, who is called the Administrator of the Hospital. In the institution itself there is a superintendent, a matron, seven attendants, a chief cook with three assistants, a janitor, and three general servants.

An applicant for admission must bring proof of an unblemished character, and of freedom from any disease that would make her obnoxious to others or require special treatment; be sixty years of age (now practically seventy, as there are always enough of that age waiting for a vacancy); have been ten years a resident of Dresden, and, in the case of the Materni Hospital proper, be the widow, divorced wife, or unmarried daughter of a citizen of Dresden, or have herself acquired citizenship; bring with her the furniture necessary for her room, and pay an admission fee of $75.

Each inmate receives a room 12x21 feet for her exclusive use, fuel and light, $1.40 a week with which to buy food, and 40 cents extra for a Christmas dinner, medicine and treatment when sick (in case of prolonged serious sickness she is removed to the City Hospital, the cost of her treatment there being carried by the foundation to which she belongs), and burial at the expense of the Home. No provision is made for clothing, and here each one must have resort to what little resources she may have, or to relatives and friends. The institution is also the legal heir of each inmate, and inherits whatever is in her room at the time of her death (except letters, family pictures, and the like), and a certain proportion of what she may possess elsewhere. There have been in all but three cases of withdrawal from the Home; of these the cause was in one case the winning of one fourth of the highest prize in the State

* I have given throughout the American equivalents of German money, counting a mark as practically 25c.; of course the same amount of money will buy more in Germany than at home, which must be borne in mind farther on in considering the amount allowed for food each week.

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Lottery, in another the inheritance of a large fortune, and in the third the desire of relatives to have the old lady with them. An inmate may be removed in case of serious misdemeanor, but no such case is recorded.

Now let us examine one of the many little homes of which the great Home is composed. They have much in common, but as each old lady brings her furniture with her and arranges it according to her taste, each room has an individuality of its own. The room I shall describe is that of my grandmother, in which I have spent not a few happy hours, and of late some very sad ones, for she has been for a number of days confined to her bed. When, one pleasant September evening, I came up the stairs and into the hall that leads to her room, her door was distinguished from the others by an evergreen garland and a great 90 above it, for it was her ninetieth birthday. I did not come unexpected, and she was busy making tea for her "American grandson," as she is fond of introducing me. Opposite the door is a large double window, with neat white curtains and dark shades, and a number of flower-pots with her favorite flowers. She called my attention to one and said, "See how nice your geranium blossoms." I had taken it from the garden in Göttingen some years ago and potted it, but had forgotten all about it. Before the window, on a little elevation or "throne," is a stand with a chair on either side, one of these the large easy chair in which she sits when she wishes to read, and at the same time be able, if she chooses, to look down into the fine large garden belonging to the Home, or upon the street and watch the people passing by. In the middle of the wall on the right is her bed, and on the opposite side a large sofa with a table before it, in the German fashion. A high porcelain stove stands in the corner by the door. She has also a wardrobe, a bureau, a cupboard for her dishes, and a washstand. On the walls hang pictures of children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren in both hemispheres, and views of the places where they live. Here she is absolutely her own mistress, receiving company, and coming and going as she pleases, being held only by the following rules, which aim to secure the convenience, health, and safety of all. It is forbidden to stay away over night or go upon a journey without first informing the superintendent. The door and gate are locked at nine in winter and ten in summer, and any one coming later has to pay the janitor a fee. A high standard of cleanliness must be maintained, and it is not allowed to wash clothes in the rooms, or engage in any other work or industry that might be objectionable to others. Birds are allowed, but dogs are banished, as also the cat, which was even allowed the nuns by the 'Ancren Riwle.' One old body who, when she entered the Home, had a dog she was very fond of, put him out to board, and has him brought to her twice a week to pet and fondle.

In the morning each old lady does her little housework (till age or sickness prevents), and makes her coffee by the aid of an alcohol-lamp or in the kitchen; if she prefers, she can have it prepared for her for a trifle. Dinner is cooked in the large kitchen in the New House and brought to each room by an attendant. The amount charged is for the raw material only, all expense for preparation being carried by the institution. The following is one of the weekly bills of fare that the superintendent took from the frame in the kitchen and handed me. The messes given are bountiful, and potatoes are always furnished though not mentioned.

July 1–7, '88. *Sunday:* Soup 1c., Roast 6c. or Pork-chops 7c., Dessert 1c. *Monday:* Boiled beef and barley 4. *Tuesday:* Fried sausage and Lentils or Meat balls and Groats 4c. *Wednesday:* Beef with Cauliflower and Carrots 5c. or with Farina 4c. *Thursday:* Rice cooked in milk 3c., Veal-fricassee 4c. *Friday:* Boiled Beef and Noodles 4c. *Saturday:* Soup with Greens 2c., Macaroni 2c.

As dinner may be ordered for visitors, I have often eaten with my grandmother, and I am sure could not desire food better or better prepared. Still, the greatest freedom is allowed in this matter, and no one is required to have dinner from the kitchen, but simply to state, when the girl comes around the evening before, whether she will or not. She may go to a restaurant or wherever she pleases, and have as expensive a dinner as her means permit, or she may buy what she wants and prepare her dinner herself. Ordinary peddling is not allowed in the building, but a baker and certain peasant women have been authorized to make regular visits and bring bread, produce, and fruit to sell to the inmates. Those in the New House who wish to prepare their own dinner must provide themselves with oil-stoves or get along with the one hole of the stove in their rooms. In the Old House, the two small kitchens in the first and second stories, which were used before the New House was built, are put at the disposal of the old ladies, and fire provided for them at certain hours. In this way they are able to secure a variety that could not be provided for them, and each is able to indulge her taste, and keep up on a small scale the busy home-life she once led. Some carry this too far, occasionally objecting to what is offered for the next day, and then, when the time comes, cooking the same; some even affect to be above eating what is prepared in the kitchen. Supper, too, may be ordered, but most prefer to prepare it themselves, the girl being required to buy and bring them what they wish.

There is a chapel in the third story of the Old House, and evangelical service is held every other Thursday by one of the clergymen of St. Anne's Church; but attendance either here or in a church is according to the desire of each individual. Communion is held quarterly, and not only in the Chapel, but also, for those who find it difficult to go down the stairs, in one of the rooms in another story. This was once done in my grandmother's room during my stay in Dresden. A white spread was laid upon the table, on which were arranged a crucifix, the goblet of wine, a little silver box with wafers, and two candlesticks. Here the kindly *Diakonus* in his vestments administered the Lord's supper and the consolations of the faith to four old ladies in or approaching the nineties —but I, of course, was excluded. There is also a drawing-room, in which the inmates may come together for social intercourse; but they very seldom avail themselves of the opportunity. Still, there is plenty of visiting, and one cannot be surprised that, where 149 old women are gathered under one roof, there is a deal of gossip, fault-finding, and even scheming to displace attendants and others. Nevertheless, these things are not prominent, and pains are taken to keep up a high standard of demeanor. Each year the class of persons admitted is better. The entrance fee, together with the other conditions of admission, tends to the same end, and also relieves the inmates of the humiliation of being considered objects of charity. There are not a few here who could well be supported by their relatives or friends, but who prefer to live out their days in this simple but secure and, above all, independent way in their native city. I have several times passed through the quiet halls at night after the closing hour. At each door hung, like children's stockings on Christmas eve, a little basket or bag for the baker to put the coffee-rolls in early in the morning; and somehow I thought how soon, at each one of these doors, Some One would come and knock, and there be an end of daily cares and of the need of daily bread. G. H.

Correspondence.

WHAT WE OUGHT TO EXPECT.

To the Editor of The Nation.

Sir: In your issue of Nov. 8 you say:

"The surplus will stare Mr. Harrison in the face, just as it now stares Mr. Cleveland. It must be got rid of either by reduced taxation or by extravagant appropriations. The smallness of the Republican majority forbids that the latter policy should be adopted. It will not be safe to inaugurate a system of national profligacy in order to empty the Treasury. As little will it be safe to repeal the whiskey tax in order to maintain imposts on the necessaries of life. The masses . . . are not likely to forget anything that they have learned in this campaign of education."

I do not say that this is as unreasonable as if a Frémonter had said, after the election of 1856, that, in view of the rising tide of opinion opposed to slavery, measures for its abolition were likely to be adopted by Congress; but I fail to see any adequate reason for sharing your hope, while I cannot shut my eyes to the likelihood of a very different policy being carried out.

In the first place, the surplus problem could be solved by expenditure with far greater safety than the *Nation* seems to think. Economy is not an American characteristic. Private extravagance rarely excites comment, and we have grown so used to the waste of public funds that, far from being regarded as the robbery that it really is, more often than not it is approved as a means of distributing the public wealth among the people. Besides, our system is such as to make practical party responsibility for any measure involving expenditure a thing of rare occurrence. River and harbor bills and pension bills are never, strictly speaking, party measures, nor was the Bland Silver Law such, nor the Blair Educational Bill. The very prominence given to the Mills Bill shows that it was an exception to the general rule, and it was only indirectly a measure involving expenditure. In the usual absence of Administration measures or organized opposition, each member votes so as to strengthen his position with his own constituents.

Secondly, as to the disposition of the surplus. Extravagant river and harbor bills are too well-known a feature of our financial policy to call for special notice. The glaring unconstitutionality, as well as impolicy, of the Blair Education Bill did not deprive it of a very considerable support in both Houses of Congress. What is most important of all is, that Mr. Cleveland's pension vetoes (both of private bills and of the Dependent Pension Bill) played a part in the recent campaign only less important than those of the Mills Bill and the more or less genuine utterances of the English press. Mr. Harrison boasted himself the "friend of the soldier," and an originator of the dependent-pension scheme, and talked of the "great national ambulance." The "soldier vote" was appealed to most successfully in his behalf, and it will claim recognition. The attitude of the Grand Army prevents all uncertainty as to what sort of recognition will be asked, and it is too much to suppose the leaders of the Republican party are going to disappoint

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what must be, from their point of view, such reasonable expectations.

Thirdly, the surplus is there, and all that is necessary to meet the demands of pension and other bills is to let the sources of the surplus stay about as they are. Granted that the tobacco taxes will probably be removed, is there any likelihood that the tariff will be touched, except possibly in the way of raising some of the duties? The repeal of the sugar duties, though proposed in the Senate bill, has too long been regarded as the entering wedge of "British free trade" to warrant much expectation of its being seriously considered. The Republican party is now absolutely controlled by men who believe, rightly or not, that any tariff reduction would deprive them and their immediate supporters of millions of dollars of profits, and they may naturally be expected to fight tariff reform to the bitter end. Even if an attempt in that direction were made, the party whose first and last article of belief is the necessity of fostering special interests would probably find it impossible to adjust any measure of reform to the satisfaction of those whose profits would be affected by a change. Certainly the difficulties in the way of such a solution of the surplus problem would be enormous as compared with the simple plan of spending the money.

It is certainly well to look on the bright side under all circumstances, and all tariff-reformers would like to take the *Nation's* view; but, as a long and bitter fight seems to confront them, it may be just as well for them to prepare for it with a never-slackening zeal, and to look for no concession from their opponents until it is actually made. C. C. B.

PHILADELPHIA, November 12, 1888.

WHAT SHALL WE DO?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The outcome of the election proves clearly that the country is not yet ready to decide with the President on the issue which he made; and to say that Mr. Harrison's election is due to ignorance, self-interest, and misrepresentation is simply to state this fact in other terms. Unfortunate as the result is, it becomes doubly so from the fact that other circumstances accompanying it greatly endanger Mr. Cleveland's position as the leader of his party. His entire public life has, consciously or unconsciously, been an effort to raise the plane of his party's life; and the course of events, by drawing to his support the independent and disinterested sentiment of the country, has aided him in his efforts to identify it with high principles and sound ideas. In a people composed of as many dissimilar elements as is the American people, and a people whose unity is so constantly disturbed by the influx of a large and raw foreign population, it is not strange that four years have been inadequate for this great work. Its influence has as yet hardly touched the official machinery of the party, or its recognized leaders in the Senate and the House. How insufficient a single Presidential term has been thoroughly to regenerate the party, the renomination of Gov. Hill showed; but it was my earnest hope that four more years of President Cleveland would so completely transform his party as to leave Gov. Hill, his friends and his methods, high and dry behind it. But at the very moment when the process was proceeding most favorably, when the people were gradually comprehending his sound ideas of public policy, when the ancient leaders of the party had, however reluctantly, signed their own death-warrants by accepting his leadership, a severe defeat brings to the front a man who represents the very elements of party life which Mr. Cleveland has uniformly opposed.

This, then, is the critical question which the election presents to the Democratic party: Will it continue Mr. Cleveland as its leader, and cling to its declaration of its purposes, without regard to the next election; or will it abandon its leader and its principles, for the chances of success with Gov. Hill in 1892? Will it dare to repudiate its partial success, and to rejoice more in its defeat with the President than in its victory with the Governor? The time has come to choose between two irreconcilable tendencies; and the choice of Mr. Hill will inevitably mean the surrender of every inch of ground that the President has so painfully won, and the exchange of the absolute certainty of ultimate and enduring success for the nearer prospect of office without anything that could make it worth the having.

I confess, however, with great reluctance, that the outlook for the prevalence of wise and patriotic counsels is not reassuring. Success is a sweet thing to most men, and the probability of repeated defeat, even in a great cause and with ultimate triumph, is not pleasant. The history of the Democratic party in recent years contains a somewhat similar case, that of Mr. Tilden in 1880, in which, with practical unanimity, the party deserted its leader and its principles, only to meet, however, a most crushing defeat. How far the Democratic press is disposed to try this course again, I have no means of knowing; but I see with profound regret that the course of the *Courier-Journal* points unmistakably to the substitution of some one else—most likely Gov. Hill or Gov. Gray—for Mr. Cleveland, on the alleged ground that he is responsible for his own defeat. Why? Not, indeed, because he pressed the tariff question, but because he lacked the small abilities that make successful candidates. Has it, then, come to this, that a great principle of government is to be established through bargaining in public offices? Are we to acknowledge manhood suffrage so disastrous a failure that a great truth must be obscured, compromised, and disgraced before it can hope for success? The party of the future will not have it so. The party towards which the President was leading the Democratic party, and with which more than all else the continued endorsement of Mr. Cleveland and the equally vigorous repudiation of Gov. Hill would identify it, will succeed on its merits or not at all.

But if the Democratic party lacks the courage to uphold the President, if it surrenders to Gov. Hill and becomes the counterpart of the Republican party, then let us have a new party, which will grow up with a distinct purpose, appropriating to itself the real strength and intelligence of the nation—a party prepared to bide its time, ready for and indifferent to defeat, but strong in the assurance of its final triumph. For as sure as there is something higher in our life than either the Republican party of Gen. Harrison or the Democracy of Gov. Hill, so surely will the lofty and unselfish conception of public duty in the end prevail; it cannot be that our political life will permanently be disconnected from the true intellectual life of the nation.

In that party of the future, let us give a high and honorable place to the brave man who has just experienced his first defeat. In a brief Presidency of four years he is the only Executive since Abraham Lincoln who has left an enduring and worthy imprint on our national history. I am not now disposed, nor have I ever been, to extenuate his faults. His almost forgotten message on the labor troubles was a stupendous, an unexplicable blunder; his retaliation message, though a consummate political move, may well be criticised on higher grounds; his treatment of Lord Sackville, though the provocation was great, was hardly in keeping with the national dignity; and his course in regard to the civil service, though in this he contended against obstacles which no man can realize, was still inconsistent and unfortunate. But, despite all these shortcomings, he is still the first President in a quarter of a century who has contested the domination of selfish interests, who has encountered and combatted the great forces of demoralization which have threatened and have impaired the purity of our Government. Monopolies, railroads, "pension sharks," "land-grabbers," have all recognized that they had nothing to expect from him; and these have been our great public questions since the accession of Gen. Grant! It is not strange that Mr. Cleveland was not victorious in his last struggle against the organized forces of corruption and ignorance, fighting for very life: it is enough for him that he will be so in the end. He has directed and developed forces which will continue to grow in activity long after he has retired from his high office. To his lasting honor be it said, he is the only man in public life today who could seriously aspire to be their leader. F.

LOUISVILLE, November 10, 1888.

THE ELECTION IN MARYLAND.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It looks as though Gormanism had received a mortal blow in this State. The defeat of Indian Inspector Morris A. Thomas for clerk of the new equity court, the election of two and perhaps three Republican Representatives in Congress, and the reduction of Cleveland's plurality in the State to 5,500, have rudely awakened the masses of the Democratic party to the conviction that the great boss in whose invincibility they had been taught to trust is, in fact, destroying the party. In 1876, in a total vote of 163,761, Tilden had a plurality of 19,799. In 1880 the total vote rose to 172,221, but the Democratic plurality was only 15,191. In 1884 the total vote was 186,019, and Cleveland's plurality was 11,118; and now, with a total vote in the State of 212,000, the plurality is but 5,500. In twelve years the Democratic vote has increased less than 15,000, while the Republican is now nearly 29,000 greater than it was in 1876. This reduction in the Democratic majority has been brought about in the face of the naturalization of many thousand foreigners, four-fifths of whom vote the Democratic ticket. In 1876, only four of the twenty-three counties of the State gave Republican pluralities. In 1888, twelve went Republican. For the first time since the war, Baltimore city will have a Republican member in the House of Representatives.

National issues have probably had very little to do with this growth of Republican strength. It has been almost entirely the result of the frauds, corruption, and political tyranny of the Gorman machine. Every independent movement that we have had in the last thirteen years has permanently detached some voters from the Democratic party. The men most prominent in these revolts are still, with very few exceptions, Democrats, but after every campaign some of the rank and file unite with the Republican party. Unless this drain can be arrested in the meanwhile, Maryland in the next Presidential election will be a doubtful State. Some of the Gorman people are saying that the small Democratic majority is due to

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the tariff policy of the national Administration. This is not so. It is unquestionably true that in some of the workingmen's wards the Republicans made large gains on the tariff issue; but on the other hand, it was that issue, and that alone, which held the great body of independent Democrats loyal to the Democratic national ticket. Had not the Republican party represented (in their view) a dangerous economic policy, there is little doubt that many of the most prominent Independents in the State would have either voted for Gen. Harrison or not voted at all. As it was, one or two of them who have been lifelong Democrats, and who are anything rather than Protectionists, cast their votes for the Republican ticket, as did many of the Republican Mugwumps of 1884. But the great mass of independent Democrats gave their earnest support to Cleveland and Thurman. They organized a campaign society which they called the Jeffersonian Association, and under its auspices was held the meeting at which Secretary Bayard made his speech.

On the whole, therefore, the fact that the economic question was an issue in the canvass helped rather than hurt the Democratic party. The nomination of Morris A. Thomas was, it is generally understood, due to the personal influence of Senator Gorman. Naval Officer Rasin, and the city leaders who take their orders from him, were, it is believed, reluctant to put Thomas in any position in which the people could get a chance at him; but Gorman insisted, and Thomas got the nomination. Thomas doubtless counted on its being a Presidential year, and on the fact that the Republican candidate, Capt. John H. Suter, who had been nominated when it was understood that the Democrats intended to nominate Mr. William Brewer, (who had been for twenty years deputy clerk of the existing equity court, and would have been the best possible candidate for the place), was far from a strong nominee. He had been put up to round out the ticket and without any thought that he would be elected. His integrity and clerical efficiency were not assailable; but he had been well known as a Republican politician, and had held a place in the custom-house for some eighteen years, having resigned on request about a year ago. It was alleged that his habits were not good. Under these circumstances, the Reform League decided that it would not be wise policy for them to endorse Capt. Suter. They accordingly confined themselves to the publication in the papers of a formal protest against Thomas's candidature, laying especial stress on the details of his fraudulent bankruptcy, as showing in a striking manner his unfitness for a place in which thousands of dollars of trust moneys would necessarily pass through his hands.

The members of the League, in their individual capacity, almost without exception did all they could to beat Thomas, in the only way that it could be done—that is, by electing Suter. Several gentlemen had prepared and distributed 50,000 circulars containing the principal objections to Thomas. With each circular Suter pasters were sent. No public meetings were held, no further newspaper publications were made. Disgraceful as it is to say, not a single newspaper editorially made mention of Thomas. He had expected a scratching campaign, and, in order to defeat it, he had prevented the circulation of the Democratic ticket throughout the city. For the first time in many years the Democratic voters of the city received no Democratic tickets at their residences. He evidently believed that few people would scratch him if they had to go to the polls and there get their tickets and then scratch him openly. Doubtless this scheme did save him a good many votes, but the result proved that there was a more general and robust independent feeling in the city than anybody had supposed; for although Cleveland had 5,000 plurality, Suter had some 3,400 more votes than Thomas.

The result, in its entirety and in its details, is a tremendous blow at Gorman, and is so everywhere accepted. Politicians who have been his subservient tools are now openly saying that his mismanagement has brought the party to the very verge of defeat. The various factional leaders who have been beaten by Rasin and Gorman in past contests for the control of the party organization, are everywhere preparing for a new struggle. Meanwhile, the Independents are quietly watching the signs of the opening battle, and are busying themselves in preparing drafts of new election and civil-service laws, in order that they may be ready to seize any opportunity which the fortunes of the strife may offer for the advancement of these great reforms. O. S.

Baltimore, November 9, 1888.

THE SAME ISSUE UNDER CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Suffering under disappointment, as I suppose is the case with most of your readers, I seek for consolation in eternal principles.

The London *Spectator* discusses M. Floquet's proposals for the revision of the French Constitution, and especially that which it regards as most important, viz., that the Ministers shall have a fixed term of two years, and not resign upon defeat of a bill, but only upon a special vote of a want of confidence. The critic thinks the Chamber would vote want of confidence just as readily as it would defeat a bill. Very likely; but why need the Ministers resign in either case? "Moreover, in the case of many bills which involve policy, defeat must be followed by resignation, or affairs would come to a deadlock." Why any more than they do now in this country? Would the fact that Ministers had a voice in the discussion of legislation involve such a consequence any more than the fact of its being thrust upon them without their having anything to say? "Could a Ministry remain after such a defeat? It does in Prussia, because Prussia is not a democracy, and Ministers do not mind a vote of want of confidence." That is to say, Ministers in Prussia are not appointed by the Chamber and are not dependent upon it, but derive their authority from the sovereign. Why might not the same thing be true in this country of Ministers appointed by a President elected by the people and independent of Congress? "Government must obey the law of its being, and it seems to us that in a Democratic country an effort to make Ministers secure against the representatives of the people, yet absolutely subject to their authority, is foredoomed from the very first to failure." The gap in this reasoning lies in the words "yet absolutely subject to their authority." It may be true of England and France, where Ministers are made and unmade by the Legislature; but it need not be true of this country, where Ministers are made and unmade by the people through the President."

"If it succeeds, it will be at this strange price, that the Ministry which cannot be turned out will be reduced to impotence. The momentum which carries great bills, and especially great but not popular bills, is the fear that, if they are rejected, the Ministry will resign; and if that fear is removed, they will be rejected by wholesale." This leaves out of sight another fear which is not less powerful, that of members who see danger of losing their seats. What is it which makes the Prussian Chambers submit so tamely to the bullying of Prince Bismarck? I suppose it is hardly the fear of fine, imprisonment, and torture for words spoken in debate. The German people are hardly sunk so low as to be cowed by that. It is because members feel that the present popularity of the throne and Government is so great that attacks upon them would recoil upon the aggressors. May we not suppose that a President elected by eleven millions of voters could lend force enough to his Ministers to enable them to withstand factious opposition, or that skilful holders of such offices could wield a lash long enough to make the dogs of opposition cautious of barking too closely at their heels? G. B.

Boston, November 10, 1888.

'PRINCESS NOURMAHAL.'

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In your column of literary notes published on November 8, I find a paragraph devoted to a recently published novel entitled 'Princess Nourmahal,' said to have been translated by Lew Vanderpoole from the French of George Sand. Of it you say, "It is highly improbable that an inedited work by this writer should first see the light in an English dress; and the internal evidence is wholly against the imputed authorship." Will you be kind enough to allow me to present the external evidence in my possession confirming your opinion?

While I was editor of the *Cosmopolitan*, Vanderpoole came to me and made such representations in regard to the 'Princess Nourmahal' that I was induced to accept it. But happily, before a line of it appeared in the magazine, I became convinced that his statements were not to be believed. He had asserted, among other things, that he was a nephew of George Sand; that he had visited her at her home in France; that he had been intrusted by Victor Lamoureaux, his cousin and a co-executor of Mme. Sand, with the manuscript of 'Princess Nourmahal,' and that he had been authorized to translate and publish it in the United States. At my request, Mme. Adèle Roch of New York wrote to Baron Dudevant, Mme. Sand's son, in regard to the truth of these claims. What he wrote in reply I will let him say in his own words and in his own language. His letter is dated Nohant-Vic, October 23, 1887, and the parts referring to the matter in controversy are as follows:

"(1°.) Ma mère, Madame George Sand, n'a jamais laissé de manuscrit intitulé 'La Princesse Nourmahal.'

"(2°.) Elle n'a pas institué pour son exécuteur littéraire M. Victor Lamoureaux. Je suis son seul exécuteur testamentaire, et je suis seul héritier de tous les manuscrits et autres travaux littéraires qu'elle a laissés, et seul chargé d'en user à ma seule convenance.

"(3°.) Elle n'a aucun lien de parenté avec Mr. Lew Vanderpoole.

"(4°.) Le monsieur susdit n'a jamais fait aucune visite à Mme. George Sand, et elle ne l'a jamais ni vu ni connu.

"(5°.) Ce Mr. Vanderpoole n'a jamais été chargé, que je sache, par qui que ce soit, de traiter avec qui que ce soit pour la publication de manuscrits émanants de George Sand, et ces manuscrits n'ont pu lui être confiés, puisque j'en suis seul possesseur comme héritier légitime et direct avec plein pouvoir d'en user comme il me plaira sans que cela regarde personne autre."

Whatever doubts I may have had in regard to the character of Vanderpoole and the genuineness of the 'Princess Nourmahal' were, of course, removed by this letter. I think that it will also solve any perplexities that librarians may experience when they come to catalogue

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the story. They need not hesitate to refuse to credit George Sand with the authorship of the story. F. P. Smith.

Rochester, November 6.

THE BATTLE OF CHATTANOOGA.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In the edition of the *Nation* of October 4, ult., under the head of "Notes," the writer, referring to a paper by me proving that the "Chattanooga engagement was fought exactly as it was *not* planned," makes mention of "Tolstoi's thesis that such deviations are the rule in war." That idea was not Tolstoi's, is as old as the art of war, and is familiar to all those who have the merest smattering of the rudiments of that art. The reputations of generals have appreciated as they have shown ability in taking advantage of events to change their plans on the field of battle. The remark quoted is, however, not applicable to the paper in question, which was only a reply to a labored argument by the principal personage in the battle to prove that it *was fought as planned.* Had the "thesis" of Tolstoi been accepted by him, the answer to his arguments would never have been necessary.

The conclusion would seem to be irresistible that I was the one who accepted Tolstoi's idea and not the writer to whom I replied.

Wm. Farrar Smith.

November 8, 1888.

[Precisely; and this was what we meant to intimate. That General Smith has misunderstood us, shows that we wrote obscurely. —Ed. Nation.]

THE PRATT LIBRARY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: It is not surprising that a writer in the *Nation* had not heard of the Pratt Library of Baltimore. It has not yet joined the ranks of libraries, in the modern sense of the word. Mr. Pratt's gift was a very handsome one, but the management of the library is at present in very unintelligent hands. No better way of giving out books has been devised than to make tired women and laborers stand in a long row until their turn is reached. My dressmaker has told me that she is going to join the Mercantile Library (the fee for which is five dollars a year), because she cannot afford the time required for waiting at the Pratt. Far from instituting courses of lectures, or any other means to show unbookish people what they want to read, it refused last year to allow its rooms to be used for such a course when other benevolent people were anxious to get one up.

These are two instances out of many which might be given of how much it needs instruction in the ways which have lately been devised for making a library a centre of literary influence—such ways, for example, as Mr. Bemis has found to be so admirably successful in Buffalo. M.

Baltimore, November 11, 1888.

Notes.

Mr. S. S. Rider, Providence, announces as in preparation a general index to the first series of Rhode Island Historical Tracts, "with a correction of all known errors." Moreover, he will shortly begin a second series with 'An Inquiry concerning the Origin of the Clause in the Laws of Rhode Island (1719-1783) Disfranchising Roman Catholics, and Prescribing a Religious Test for the Admission of Freemen.' This tract will be from Mr. Rider's own pen, and will differ in its conclusions from those arrived at by the late Chief-Justice Eddy. The new series, we should mention, will be limited to 250 copies at the utmost. The first series has nearly doubled in marketable value.

"The Gift-Book of the Year," according to the publishers, Estes & Lauriat, Boston, will be their Keats's 'Endymion,' illustrated by W. St. John Harper. They will issue for the gift season also an illustrated edition of George Eliot's Poems, together with a "George Eliot Portfolio" of photogravures and etchings illustrating the works of the novelist; 'Fair Women of All Countries and Times,' text and a great variety of illustrations; 'Voices of the Summer,' sixteen etchings after Millais, Birket Foster, etc.; 'American Painter Etchings,' ten remarque signed proofs, by F. S. Church, Thomas Moran, F. Dielman, and others; and Victor Duruy's 'History of Greece and the Greek People,' elaborately adorned with more than two thousand engravings and color prints.

Charles W. Sever, of the University Bookstore, Cambridge, Mass., will shortly issue 'Hesper: an American Drama,' by William R. Thayer, author of 'The Confessions of Hermes.'

Ticknor & Co. will publish on November 17 'Wanderers,' being a collection of the poems of William Winter, author of 'Shakespeare's England,' etc., and dramatic critic of the *Tribune.*

Ginn & Co. have in preparation an 'Analytic Geometry,' by Prof. A. S. Hardy of Dartmouth; and 'A Reader in Botany,' by Jane H. Newell.

The Seeger & Guernsey Co., 7 Bowling Green, are compiling a 'New Business Cyclopædia of the Manufactures and Products of the United States, for Domestic and Foreign Trade.'

The second volume of the new 'Chambers's Encyclopædia' (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.) extends from Beaugency to Cataract. Some of the longer articles are Bible, Bird, Book (Bookbinding and Booktrade), Brain, Bridge, and Carlyle. Noteworthy also are those on Bibliography and Biography. Marks of freshness abound—in the lists of authorities, in mention of the fact of Belfast's becoming a city, of Brazilian emancipation, of Mrs. Green's Henry II., etc. Andrew Lang writes on Robert Burns; A. H. Bullen on Samuel Butler; George Saintsbury on Byron; Sir George Grove on Beethoven (making free use of his article in the 'Dictionary of Music,' and giving a convenient chronological presentation of Beethoven's compositions and troubled existence); Stanley Lane-Poole on Cairo; H. B. Wheatley on Caricature, etc., etc. The illustrations continue numerous, and there are several maps.

A very notable undertaking has just been completed by the Clarendon Press, Oxford (New York: Macmillan). We refer to the new edition, in six volumes, of Clarendon's 'History of the Rebellion,' to which Mr. W. Dunn Macray has brought a refinement of accuracy unknown to his less painstaking predecessors. He has collated every word of the text with the original MS., and that there may be no doubt as to the value and extent of his corrected readings, he has grouped these at the close of Vol. VI, where they fill more than fifty pages, in single column, set over against the corresponding readings in the edition of 1849. A certain number of significant passages struck out from the first four books of the MS. are also preserved together in the appendix; divisions, both of sentences and of sections, have been rectified, often to great advantage; and the over-punctuation has been much simplified. Another important service has been to indicate by footnotes the transitions from the MS. of the 'History' to that of the interwoven 'Life.' "Hitherto," says Mr. Macray, "it has been impossible, without great expense of labor and time, to verify any passage whatever, from there not having been a single clue given whereby to find it." Not satisfied with all these improvements, the editor has assigned dates to the events narrated so far as this was practicable; and these, standing in the margin, often demonstrate a lapse of memory on the part of the historian. Finally, the index has been made worthy of the name, the references, however, being, instead of to volume and page, to book and section—on the whole, the right course to pursue. Mr. Macray's own notes are sparse, brief, and either for correction or elucidation. A facsimile of the first sheet of the 'History' shows the well-known rhetorical alteration in the very first line. Too much praise can hardly be bestowed on this edition, to which it would appear that little can be added except, as Mr. Macray points out, in the way of fixing dates.

In 'After Noontide' (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.), Margaret E. White has made a collection of extracts designed to emphasize the cheerful aspects of old age. Her range of selection is pretty extensive, running all the way from the Bible to Tupper, and yields something, we should think, for all tastes. The book is indexed by authors, and is tastefully printed.

Arthur Helps's 'Casimir Maremma' has been unpretentiously reissued by Roberts Bros.

'The Universal Telegraphic Cipher,' compiled by B. Franklin Lieber, and published by him at 4 Stone Street, New York, appears to be specially designed for the use of bankers and stockbrokers, who would doubtless find it very serviceable, and could easily adapt it to their private business. It is also a very fair and well-arranged general code, but it could never replace the private code of a merchant.

Under the title 'Pompeii' (Naples: Luigi Pierro), L. Conforti, apparently a disciple of Carducci, has collected some fifty poems full of erudition and bristling with Latinisms. A slender vein of narrative, reappearing here and there, serves to give an appearance of unity to the whole; but in the main the pieces are descriptive, the poet's aim being to give us a series of pictures of life in ancient Pompeii at the various hours of day and night. Judged from a Latin standpoint, the verses are graceful and harmonious.

The proprietors of the *Writer*—a now well-established monthly published in Boston, in which the veteran quill-driver and the novice are alike apt to find something helpful, at least on the mechanical side of their calling—are to launch on January 1 a companion periodical, the *Author.* Its aim is to admit selected as well as original matter, of special importance to writers, but its exact physiognomy is not indicated in the prospectus.

The Gesellschaft Urania of Berlin has begun a new popular illustrated monthly, entitled *Himmel und Erde*, the prospectus and first number of which have reached us. As its name would imply, the scope of the magazine is broad enough to include astronomy, physics of the earth and celestial bodies, optics, physics proper, geography, and meteorology. The entire prospectus, a brief one, would be worth producing here, had we space; but if the name of the editor, Dr. M. Wilhelm Meyer, of Berlin, were not sufficient guarantee for the character of this new venture, the long list of contributors would be. Gould of Cambridge and Peters of Clinton are the only representatives

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of America in the list. *Heft* 1 makes an excellent beginning with an important paper by Schiaparelli on the planet Mars, the study of whose surface he has made particularly his own. Following are papers by Foerster, the editor, and others, and a collection of interesting notes, and reviews of the scientific works of the day. Each number of this monthly will contain 50-60 pages royal octavo, and the price for the year is $3.50. No. 1 bears the date October, 1888. The illustrations are of a high order, and the new magazine may well displace much of the cheap stuff, French and English, heretofore current.

The November *Academy* (Syracuse, N. Y.) is an exceptionally valuable number, being composed of papers read last month before the New England Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools, and of the debates thereon. Mr. John Tetlow's paper, on the desirability of modifying the present modern-language requisitions for admission to college, stands first, and is, to our minds, the most useful; indeed, it led directly to the charging of a committee with the subject. Much discussed also was Prof. Truman H. Safford's paper on the falling-off in the ratio of attendance at college; as he estimates, but five-eighths of the yearly ratio of increase in population represents the increased attendance. President C. K. Adams's paper on the teaching of pedagogy in colleges and universities completes this excellent bill of fare.

The *Studio* for September gives an interesting specimen of Alfred Stevens's portraiture, "The Lady with a Fan," owned in this country. Mr. Kurtz's method of reproduction, the editor assures us, has gone far in translating the color scheme into black and white.

Paris Illustré for November 3 (International News Co.) is much concerned, pictorially, with the Comédie-Française. Admirably grouped is the scene in which Director Claretie and numerous actors and connoisseurs listen to the younger Dumas's reading of a new play. Fine in another way is the view of the Crush Room of the theatre, garnished with portrait statuary.

The Appalachian Mountain Club professes its readiness to receive donations in money or in real estate, whole mountains (*pro bono publico*) not excepted. We believe that nothing so bestowed will go amiss. The Recording Secretary is Mr. Rosewell B. Lawrence, 23 Court St., Boston.

Following in the path of the Associations for the Advancement of Science in England, France, and the United States, the scientific workers of Australia and thereabouts have banded themselves into a like Association of their own, which had its first general session at Sydney late in August last. A marked degree of success is reported. Lord Carrington made the initial speech, and the President, Mr. H. C. Russell, H.M. astronomer at Sydney, followed with an address. The Association starts in with nearly one thousand members, who contributed more than one hundred papers, which will be largely printed in the Transactions of the Association. The meeting of 1889 will take place at Melbourne, with the eminent botanist, Baron Sir Ferdinand von Müller as president, and a meeting in New Zealand is arranged for 1890.

The Observatory at Dun Echt, near Aberdeen, Scotland, is perhaps the most perfectly equipped private establishment in existence. Its owner, the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, has offered the fine instruments to his Government, on condition that the administration of the Royal Observatory of Scotland continues in its hands. Prof. C. Piazzi Smyth has lately sent in his resignation as Astronomer-Royal of Scotland, because, he says, the Government would do nothing towards the betterment of the ancient establishment on Calton Hill, Edinburgh, of which he has been so long in charge. This may now be dismantled, or reserved for instruction uses, while a new Royal Observatory appears likely to be built elsewhere. A committee have in hand the matter of selecting a suitable site.

From Dietrich Reimer, Berlin, we receive the two concluding sheets of Richard Kiepert's "Wall-Atlas," or series of wall maps, of Europe, the labor of many years. These figure Russia and Scandinavia physically without lettering, but with a conventional coloring to represent elevations, water-courses, etc. A political series parallels the physical. The authenticity and the satisfactory execution of these maps entitle them to the attention of teachers here as well as abroad.

—In the last number of the *Forum*, Mr. Lester F. Ward, whom Europeans know as the principal American authority on sociological questions, turns the tables on the evolutionists, in regard to the status of women, in the very neatest and cleverest of fashions. He points out to them that they are forgetting their Darwinism in not remembering that the greater size and strength of man, and his corresponding greater weight of brain, far from being an unalterable law of organized life, are the merely accidental result of his immediate ancestors having spent their lives in battles with their rivals, and of the great liking which the females among the higher animals had for the conquerors in war. Far from drawing the conclusion that man is the necessary defender and master of women, if we are under a sacred obligation to preserve the "natural" state of things which prevailed among our progenitors, we ought "to insist that woman should defend both herself and her offspring from hostile influences of all kinds, and also assume the whole duty of supplying her children with food, while the sole function of man should be, as it is in most mammals and birds, to take care of himself and fight off rivals"—a state of society which is distantly approached in a few of the very lowest tribes of savages.

—But even this state of things is not "indicated," as the physicians say, if we take account of the whole of the animal creation. It has been frequently remarked that the laws governing the higher forms of life can be rightly comprehended only by an acquaintance with the lower and more formative types of being. It is only among birds and mammals that this physical superiority of the male prevails: throughout the rest of the animal scale, there is a very different state of things, and among the invertebrates female superiority is well-nigh universal. Among the lowest animals the male, if there is a male, usually leads a brief and precarious existence. He is sometimes devoured by the female when his function has been performed. What is worse, there is a barnacle, described by Darwin, which has, in two valves of her shell, two little pockets in each of which she keeps a little husband. These are the deep and ingrained principles of Nature to which we should return if we wished honestly to take her for our guide. But there is one thing more. If it be true, as Prof. Brooks thinks he has made out, that the female sex represents the principle of heredity, or permanence of type, and the male that of variability, then it is of the utmost importance that whatever high qualities of mind and body and heart modern civilization is capable of producing, those it should, in the first instance, produce in its women. It must be from the steady advance of woman rather than from the uncertain fluctuations of man that progress is to come. "There is no fixed rule by which Nature has intended that one sex should excel the other, any more than there is any fixed point beyond which either cannot further develop. Nature has no intentions, and evolution has no limits." The lesson of science, rightly read, is that the elevation of woman is the indispensable condition to the elevation of the race.

—The ninth volume of Mr. John Bigelow's edition of Franklin's Works (G. P. Putnam's Sons) is one of the most interesting of the series. It opens in 1784, while the ambassador was still at Passy, but with a prospect of being allowed to return, as actually took place in the summer of the following year. The thought of a rest from political labors seems to have tinged his familiar correspondence with even more than his wonted geniality, and any selection of his letters, which we may some time hope to see, would draw largely upon the present volume. There is a noticeable amount of personal and especially boyish reminiscence, which ought to be printed in connection with his autobiography proper. Not a few of the letters to him are also to be remarked, as that from Gov. Benjamin Harrison of Virginia, the ancestor of two Presidents, and one from John Sevier, the head of the new State of Franklin. One from Mme. Helvetius, printed verbatim, is amusingly illiterate. The editing might have been a little more laborious to advantage. Thus, a defective proper name, "Cab nis," on page 311, is conjectured to be "(? Cabenis)," though on page 346 it recurs plainly as Cabanis. Franklin spent the long voyage homeward in recording his observations on the Gulf Stream and on various practical matters relating to the methods and perils of navigation, and discussing smoky chimneys. He returned home only to be plunged deep into public business, to be thrice made President of Pennsylvania, and to participate in the Convention that framed the Federal Constitution. He also served as President of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery—a partial atonement for his assent to the pro-slavery compromises of the Constitution.

—We are tempted to quote freely from these pages, still fresh for instruction, but must forbear. Franklin remembered the first ship that brought Irish emigrants to Pennsylvania, yet he could say in 1784 that they and their children now ruled the State. In a letter to B. Vaughan, April 21, 1785, he writes:

"We see much in parliamentary proceedings, and in papers and pamphlets, of the injury the concessions to Ireland will do to the *manufacturers* of England, while the *people* of England seem to be forgotten, as if quite out of the question. If the Irish can manufacture cottons, and stuffs, and silks, and linens, and cutlery, and toys, and books, etc., etc., etc., so as to sell them cheaper in England than the *manufacturers* of England sell them, is not this good for the *people* of England who are not manufacturers? And will not even the manufacturers themselves share the benefit?—since if cottons are cheaper, all the other manufacturers who wear cottons will save in that article; and so of the rest. If books can be had much cheaper from Ireland, . . . is not this an advantage, not to English booksellers, indeed, but to English readers and to learning?"

To the Abbé Morellet, April 22, 1787, excusing the war tariff of that date:

"I am of the same opinion with you respecting the freedom of commerce, especially in countries where direct taxes are practicable. This will be our case in time, when our wide-extended country fills up with inhabitants. . . . Nothing can be better expressed than your sentiments are on this point, where you

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prefer liberty of trading, cultivating, manufacturing, etc., even to civil liberty, this being affected but rarely, the other every hour. Our debt occasioned by the war being very heavy," etc.

On this the Abbé comments:

"You impose duties that you may raise money; this is plain. But the author of your pamphlet levies imposts to secure to America her navigation and a balance of trade in her favor. He already follows in the steps of European Governments, who have disguised all the tyranny they have exercised over commerce under these false pretences; and I confess I should be very sorry to see you pursuing the same crooked channels."

—Volume xlii of the second section of Ersch and Gruber's 'Encyklopaedie' extends from "Landstände" to "Lehrte." The opening article, covering nine and a half pages of the size of the *Nation*, treats of the Teutonic estates of the realm which flourished from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century, and which are not to be confounded with the popular assemblies that preceded with them, or with the Diets that followed them. They are distinguished from the former in that they did not stand for the rights of the nation or state as a whole, but contended for the privileges of the classes of which they were composed, and, in most cases, developed into three estates, viz.: first, prelates and nobles; secondly, the knighthood; and, thirdly, the cities. From the later Diets or Parliaments they differed in that their members were not representatives, but each one sat by virtue of being a member of one of the estates. The volume is rich in interesting biographical notices. Perhaps the longest article is one of ten pages on John Law of Lauriston. Among titles that possess the attraction of "actuality" may be mentioned Ferdinand Lassalle (not found in Appletons' 'American Cyclopædia') and Eduard Lasker, each of whom gets four and a half pages. Hubert Languet, also missing in the 'American Cyclopædia,' gets six and a half pages. French biography is particularly well represented. Eleven members of the Larochefoucauld family are treated in as many pages, and six members of the Larochejacquelein family in seven pages. Lanfrey, the historian of Napoleon I., has four pages, and Jean Denis Lanjuinais, who is not even mentioned in the 'Britannica,' has five. Other French names are Lannes (Duke of Montebello), La Place, Latude, Lavoisier, Latour d'Auvergne, etc. The battle of Langensalza, June 27, 1866, is described in three pages. The Duchy of Lauenburg requires six.

—A valuable feature of this work is the fulness of the bibliographical references and the copious citation of authorities. Mr. Leslie Stephen pursues a similar course in his 'Dictionary of National Biography'; indeed, no work of reference can make any pretensions to rank as a literary production if it habitually conceals the sources of its information. With all its wealth of learning, however, the present work is not free from errors and omissions, most noticeable in regard to English and American topics. There is no mention of Langland, the supposed author of the 'Vision of Piers Plowman,' or of François de La Noue, or of La Pérouse, the navigator, or of La Salle, the explorer, or of Nathaniel Lee, the dramatist, or of John Ledyard, the American traveller, or of the city of Leavenworth, although Leadville is given, with the statement (important, if true) that in 1880 that enterprising town had 240 miles of telephone connection. In an article on Mme. de Laroche, the grandmother of Bettina Brentano, one of the works referred to is "Crabb: 'Robinson's Diary.'"

—Krummacher, whose researches into Carlyle's language and style we have already noted more than once, brings them to a (provisional?) conclusion in a recent issue of the *Englische Studien*, xii, 38-59. Provisional, we venture to insinuate, because we hope that Krummacher will reprint his results in book form, and, in so doing, revise and extend them. The present instalment deals with syntactic peculiarities and figurative expressions. The curious use of tense in the conditioning clause, mentioned page 40, *e. g.*, "of which, *were* the crisis come, we will give some account," needs fuller illustration and analysis than it here gets. "Historical shot-rubbish," cited page 44, is not fairly rendered by *schlecht verarbeitetes Material*. The allusion sought for on page 53 in "flattering unction to his soul" is readily found in "Hamlet"; that in "not witty, but the cause of wit," in "King Henry IV.," Part II. Carlyle's Trismegistus, page 54, may be directly classical (if Lactantius can pass in that category), but we suspect that he is borrowed at second-hand from Milton's "Penseroso," 88. Krummacher's remarks upon Carlyle's style in general, and its non-German character, are admirable. We shall never understand the genesis of it until some patient scholar (Krummacher himself, or one like him) shall study exhaustively the writings of the Edinburgh period, and compare them step by step with those composed at Craigenputtock. The latter are Carlylese, the former are not. The thing is to show exactly when and how the former gave way to the latter.

THE COMTE DE FALLOUX.

Memoirs of the Comte de Falloux. From the French. Edited by C. B. Pitman. London: Chapman & Hall. 1888. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. xii, 484, 497.

THESE memoirs were published in French in the beginning of this year under the title 'Memoirs of a Royalist,' which the English editor discards from his title-page, but retains as an alternating head-line. The English edition is a handsome, sightly book, and the translation is well done, although there is some inconsistency in the treatment of French titles: Count alternates with Comte, but every Duke is called a Duc. In what the "editing" consists is not readily apparent, except that a copious index is furnished.

Count Alfred de Falloux was born at Angers May 7, 1811, of a family notable for its devotion to the royal family of France and for its zeal for the Catholic religion. His father emigrated at the age of fourteen and entered the Talleyrand-Périgord regiment. His mother was the daughter of the Marquise de Soucy, and grand-daughter of the Baronne de Mackau, both of whom had been governesses to the royal children. His childhood was passed among persons accustomed to make sacrifices to their loyalty and in a province which was the peculiar home of the monarchical creed. He received his schooling first in his native town and later at the Collège Bourbon in Paris. His father's fortune had been reduced to modest proportions by the vicissitudes of the Revolution, but the death of a rich cousin in 1822 placed the family in an independent position. Young Falloux was thus enabled to follow his literary inclinations and to indulge a taste for travelling. One of his earliest journeys was in company with Lamartine, and in the course of it he paid his respects to the King and Queen of Sardinia, who were making a temporary stay at Chambéry, and living in patriarchal simplicity. The Revolution of 1830 caused him to return to Paris, animated by resentment against the House of Orleans and all its adherents. He says that at this time nothing would have induced him to enter an Orleanist drawing-room, although he met the Duc d'Orléans and the Duc de Nemours on the neutral ground of the Austrian embassy. The drawing-room war in which he took part reached an acuter stage after the miscarriage of the expedition undertaken by the Duchesse de Berry in 1832, and during her captivity at Blaye the Royalist society resolved to wear mourning and to give no balls, but only *routs*, at which fashionable authors like Eugène Sue, Balzac, and Sainte-Beuve were the lions.

Finding no opportunity to serve his country, M. de Falloux again started out on his travels, passing through Belgium and Holland and up the Rhine as far as Mayence, reaching Prague by way of Frankfort, and visiting the family of King Charles X., who were then receiving hospitality at the Hradschin Palace. The King played whist every evening; he was a bad player and frequently lost his temper, but his partners were used to him and did not mind. It was at this time that Falloux first made the acquaintance of the Comte de Chambord, then in his fourteenth year and known as the Duc de Bordeaux. In London he met Persigny, who already at that time (1835) was devoted to the interests of Prince Louis Bonaparte, and endeavored to enlist Falloux in the same cause. Finding his efforts useless, he said, "Your eyes will be opened. Prince Napoleon will reign, and you will form part of his first ministry." Thirteen years later this prophecy was fulfilled. A second meeting between the two young men took place in Strasbourg in 1836, a few days before Bonaparte's attempt, when Persigny again made an ineffectual effort to bring Falloux over to his side.

On his return to France, Falloux gave himself up to works of charity and literature; he took part in the missionary work of Saint Francis Xavier among the working population of Paris, being told off to expound the Bible to audiences of workingmen, and he wrote Lives of Louis XVI. and Pius V. Under the inspiration of Montalembert and Lacordaire, the energy of the young men of the Legitimist party, finding no vent in politics from 1830 to 1848, was turned into religious channels. At about the same time a similar proselytism was fermenting in Germany under the leadership of Doellinger and Goerres. In 1842 Falloux offered himself as a candidate for deputy and was defeated; but four years later, when for the second time a candidate, he was successful. The party of the Comte de Chambord was then, as always, divided into two sections, at the head of one of which was the Duc des Cars, while the other acknowledged the leadership of M. Berryer, the distinguished barrister. On entering Parliament, Falloux cast in his lot with the latter, and adhered to it for the rest of his life. He gave evidence of aptitude for practical statesmanship by studying and advocating the question of postal reform, which was opposed by M. Guizot. How necessary this reform was, appears from the circumstance that "the delivery of letters was divided into numerous zones. Each zone had a special tariff, which varied from six to thirty-two sous, and involved a complicated reckoning with the postman for each letter. Moreover, a prejudice existed against pre-payment; no one resorted to it except with their tradespeople, and it was extremely impolite to prepay a letter to any one who was unprepared to accept an imputation of poverty." This was in 1848. The question of educational liberty, with which M. de Falloux was a little later so thoroughly identified, also came to the front at

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this time; but all such questions were, for the moment, thrust into the background by the startling Revolution of February, 1848.

The Constituent Assembly, elected by universal suffrage, contained many representatives of the most conservative classes of the country, and among them an unexpectedly large number of priests, of whom Père Lacordaire was perhaps the most conspicuous. Men like M. Molé and Montalembert acquired considerable ascendancy in it. M. de Falloux was, at his own request, put upon the Committee of Labor, desiring, as he says, "to place real solicitude for the working classes in opposition to a quackery which is much more anxious to work upon the wounds of society than to relieve or cure them." A sub-committee, composed of Falloux, Victor Considérant, and Beslay, of whom the last-named took part in the Commune of 1871, reported in favor of closing the national workshops. At the same time M. de Falloux presented a draft of measures for ameliorating the condition of the working classes, embracing "an endowment for the societies for mutual help, the improvement of savings banks, the protection of children in factories, draining and sanitary arrangements for populous districts, the demolition of unhealthy dwellings, etc." These measures were in advance of the times; in England Lord Ashley had begun his efforts in behalf of factory operatives in 1833, but it was not till 1878 that he saw the full fruition of his labors. It may be remarked, in passing, that there are points of resemblance in the characters of M. de Falloux and of the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, as well as in their sympathy with the laboring poor.

The report on the national workshops was the signal for the outbreak in June, which was suppressed by General Cavaignac, who was invested with full executive power, and who dictatorially executed the decree which the Assembly would have voted if the insurrection had not intervened; but the philanthropic proposals which were intended to accompany this measure were indefinitely postponed. The election of Louis Bonaparte to the Presidency in December, 1848, was brought about by the conservative majority in the Assembly, under definite pledges that a parliamentary Ministry should be formed, in which every faction of that majority should be represented. M. de Falloux was selected from among the Legitimist party on account of his liberal sentiments. He at first declined, although urged to accept by M. de Montalembert, M. Molé, and the Duc des Cars, and at last only yielded to the eloquent appeal of the Abbé Dupanloup, afterwards so well known as the Bishop of Orleans. He entered the Cabinet as Minister of Public Instruction and Worship, being the first Catholic Minister France had had in sixty years; and he gives the following account of the beginnings of the new Government:

"The relations between Prince Louis Bonaparte and his Ministry were at first very embarrassed and sometimes rather ludicrous. With the exception of M. Odilon Barrot, the Prince had little previous acquaintance with any of us. One might even add that, outside the small Napoleonic group in the midst of which he habitually lived, he had never been familiar with any one. He had now to become acquainted with the whole of France. Under these circumstances he felt himself exposed to every kind of slight, and his foreign accent, which the *Charivari* was always taking off, added to his embarrassment. It was easy to detect his ignorance of men and things, an ignorance one would never have expected to find in a pretender who had always aspired to govern them. He was well versed in the exact sciences, and knew much that many others did not know; but, on the other hand, he had but very little of that general knowledge which most people have at their fingers' ends. He had scarcely any correct notion of literature or art."

Within a week after taking office, the entire Cabinet tendered their resignations to the President in consequence of an extremely offensive letter he had addressed to one of their number, M. Léon de Malleville, Secretary of the Interior. The trouble was smoothed over by a formal apology written by the President, who was more cautious after this incident, and backed down promptly whenever one of his constitutional advisers seriously opposed any of his pet projects. M. de Falloux at once devoted himself to elaborating the Education Law which is associated with his name, although it was not enacted until after he had left the Ministry, and he succeeded in enlisting in its behalf men of the most opposite views. He was also the most energetic promoter of the Roman expedition. A little later, when there were difficulties in the Cabinet, he was requested by the President to form a new Ministry, but declined the task. He remarks that the President never alluded before him to a Napoleonic ambition or hope, but even one day said to him, "Show me the House of Bourbon reunited, and you will then find me quite ready to take up my hat and stick." In September, 1849, M. de Falloux, by threatening to resign because the President had published a letter to Colonel Ney which he had promised not to publish, compelled the President to eat humble pie by a public retraction. In October, M. de Falloux finally left the Ministry.

The death of Louis Philippe in August, 1850, encouraged the Royalists to hope for a fusion of the two branches of the royal family, but these were dashed by the circular issued from Wiesbaden in the name of the Comte de Chambord, which had the effect of chilling the ardor of most of his adherents. In this circular a committee of five was appointed to take charge of the Pretender's interests, but additions were shortly made to this number, and, among others, M. de Falloux was requested to join. In the meantime the Bonapartist movement assumed more audacity. The Ministry of October, 1849, containing Rouher and Achille Fould, was the first step in the new departure, and was logically followed by the removal of General Changarnier in January, 1851. A new Cabinet, formed in October, 1851, was not only chosen outside of Parliament, but was composed of obscure men without ability. The most important person in it was Saint-Arnaud, who was brought from Algiers and made Minister of War. The 2d of December, being the anniversary of the battle of Austerlitz, was chosen for the execution of the Coup d'État. Among other deeds was the imprisonment of over three hundred deputies at Mont Valérien. M. de Falloux was among the number, and relates several incidents of the occasion. The confinement lasted only three days, after which most of the deputies were liberated, but, as some exceptions were made, the others refused to accept their liberty as a privilege. As they declined to enter the omnibuses that were waiting for them in the yard, the police collared them and made them get in. The omnibuses were driven to the Place Louis XV., and the passengers were told to alight, but refused to do so, unless by force and under restraint as they had entered. The horses were thereupon taken out, and the omnibuses left standing in the street, so that their occupants had to get out and go home.

Although the Coup d'État was sanctioned by six million votes, the Royalist party consoled themselves with the reflection that the Man of December, intoxicated by success, would embark on some mad enterprise that would lead him to destruction, but they did not expect to wait twenty years for their prophecies to come true. The President, however, was more cautious than his opponents gave him credit for. Still, according to M. de Falloux, "he wrote on his desk a decree annexing Belgium after the Napoleonic manner; but the patriotic despair of M. Sauvo, editor of the *Moniteur*, sufficed to soften him and stop it."

The Royalist party continued, as before, to be split into two factions, the impracticables and the moderates. The former, with the approval of the Comte de Chambord, prescribed total abstention from politics, while the latter considered that they had duties to the country as well as to their exiled monarch. This was the view taken by Falloux; but, for personal reasons, partly connected with his health, he took no active part in politics, and withdrew to his estate, where he indulged his taste for rural life and for literature. His cattle took prizes at agricultural shows, although these things were regulated by politics under the Empire, and no one was expected to carry off a prize who was not an adherent of the Emperor. M. Rouher, Minister of Agriculture, in congratulating Falloux on gaining his first *prix d'honneur*, informed him that when the judges learned that the winning ox belonged to him, they thought they had better give the prize to another breeder; so they looked again at another ox which they had liked, and discovered that this was better than the first one, but as it turned out that the second ox also belonged to Falloux they had to award him the prize after all.

In April, 1856, Falloux was elected to the French Academy in the place of Count Molé. One of his supporters was M. Guizot, who, when some one said to him, "Read the 'History of Saint Pius V.,' and see if a Protestant can vote for M. de Falloux," replied, "As I have made up my mind to vote for him, I am not going to read his books," and, adds M. Falloux, he kept his double pledge. He also says that the declared support of Guizot was enough to alienate Thiers, who did not attend the meeting, but did not make an adverse use of his influence. On the day of his reception, the wife and daughter of M. Falloux went to the Palais Mazarin before him, and, in the excitement of the moment, forgot to send the carriage back for him.

"Time running short, I had to take a hackney carriage, and I arrived at the Institute very nervous as to the possible consequence of a delay very unlike the excessive punctuality for which I am habitually reproached. I hurried up the stairs, but on reaching the top step I perceived that I had left my speech in the carriage. I ran down the stairs quicker than I had mounted them, looking for the vehicle. It was gone, and there I was, on the pavement of the quay, in the academician's costume—a coat embroidered with green palm-leaves, a cocked-hat, and a sword—racing through the crowd in pursuit of my cab, which I finally overtook with great difficulty. My speech was lying quietly on the seat, little dreaming of the anguish it had caused me. I snatched it up, and hurried back breathlessly to join my colleagues just as the sitting was being formally opened. I knew what sorrow my wife and daughter would feel at their forgetfulness, and I kept the secret."

In 1863 and 1869 M. de Falloux was persuaded to be a candidate for the Assembly, but was defeated on both occasions. After the fall of the Empire, the Royalists again had high hopes of a restoration through the instrumentality of M. Thiers, but were disappointed, partly through the personal ambition of Thiers to remain President, and partly though the blindness and obstinacy of the Pretender, who stunned his best friends by his "white flag" manifesto of July 5, 1871. He dealt them a

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similar and final blow by his Salzburg manifesto of October 27, 1873, when the Government of Marshal McMahon seemed really to promise a return of the monarchy, and a reconciliation had at last been effected with the House of Orleans. The Comte de Chambord discovered too late how great a mistake he had made, and, in order to undo the mischief, came to France incognito, went secretly to Versailles, and asked for a personal interview with Marshal McMahon. "The Marshal replied that if any danger threatened M. le Comte de Chambord he was ready to defend him at the peril of his life, but that his duty towards the Assembly and his Ministry forbade his loyalty to accept the secret interview which was demanded; and it did not take place."

We have left ourselves no room to quote any of the striking passages in which M. de Falloux describes the characteristics of the many prominent statesmen with whom he was brought into frequent and intimate contact. He is evidently animated by a sincere desire to be strictly impartial, even in speaking of his opnents. Perhaps the only person whom he mentions with any bitterness is M. Louis Veuillot, the truculent editor of *L'Univers* and *Le Monde*. Of Napoleon III. he gives a more favorable account than would have been expected. Of the genius of M. Thiers he was a warm admirer, even while at odds with his politics; of his oratory he says that "no one, perhaps, since Voltaire, has spoken the French language with as much finesse and clearness as he did." Others whom he sketches are Guizot, Berryer, Montalembert, Lacordaire, Lamartine, Cavaignac, Persigny, Odilon Barrot, Dupanloup, Lamoricière, etc., etc. Moreover, although a serious-minded man, his book does not lack the epigrammatic flavor that one naturally looks for in French memoirs.

The Book of Noodles. By W. A. Clouston. A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1888.

Wit and Humor: Their Use and Abuse. By William Mathews, LL.D. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1888.

No one who confines his studies of humor to the jests of our forefathers will feel disposed to question Hobbe's dictum, that the cause of laughter is a "sudden glory" in ourselves at discovering some inferiority in others. The point of these jests is always the witlessness of their subjects, and it must be said that such point as they had has become somewhat blunted by the advance of civilization. We are disposed to laugh rather at the simplicity of those who could be amused at such imbecilities than at the jests themselves, and we are perhaps more likely to be overcome with pity or contempt than with laughter. There was evidently a childish period in the development of the sense of humor, and the mirth of our ancestors is often as mysterious to us as is the mirth of our children.

On this account we do not find Mr. Clouston's dainty little book very exhilarating; but it is a scholarly production. He does not attempt to trace the stories of simpletons to their original sources, but he points out the resemblances between their forms as they are found in different countries. The noodle-stories of Europe have substantially the same incidents as those found in the Buddhist and Indian books, and the tales of Iceland and Norway are repeated in Southern Italy and in the western Highlands. The 'Tales of the Men of Gotham,' an ancient chap-book, forms a convenient basis of operations for Mr. Clouston, and the noodles and boobies of numberless other lands, from Ireland to Japan, are called in to testify to the uniformity of human folly and to the meagre imagination of early humorists.

Simpletons everywhere have taken the moon reflected in water for a green cheese, and have vainly tried to rake it out—when some blundering beast has not drunk it up, with disastrous results to himself. They have everywhere tried to bottle sunshine, to raise crops of cooked food, to see how they look when they are asleep, to drown eels, and to fence in birds. The story of the Irishman who let go his hold upon the bridge in order to spit on his hands, is told even yet; but the same thing was written in Sanskrit, ages ago, and simpletons then as now sat upon branches and cut them off between themselves and the tree. A very common basis of these tales is the literalness with which stupid people follow directions, as in the case of the fool who is told to cast sheeps'-eyes at the maidens. Many of them turn upon confusions of personal identity, there having been many predecessors of the Irishman who accounted for his stupidity by his having been changed at birth. The Irish humor, indeed, is generally of a higher order than that of other peoples, and there is nothing to prevent men of all times from laughing at the story of the Irishman who was riding an ass, when the beast, in kicking at flies, got one of its hind feet into the stirrup, and the rider dismounted, exclaiming, "Faith, if you're going to get up, it's time I was getting down."

Mr. Mathews's book is of a very different character from Mr. Clouston's. The specimens of wit and humor with which it is filled are of modern origin and of modern style, while the object of the author seems to be didactic. We will not turn his quotations against him, and cite Jean Paul on the Germans—"They rig out an epigram with a preface, and a madrigal with a table of contents"—but he has really made so good a collection of *jeux d'esprit* that we fear that most readers will pay little attention to his comments. He discusses the theories of wit and humor, epigrams, puns, parody, and repartee, with many apt illustrations and with appropriate cheerfulness. His observations are generally judicious, and he introduces his stories with a good deal of cleverness. It can hardly be said that he contributes much of his own to our inheritance of witticisms, but lovers of good things will be grateful to him for the result of his pleasant labors; they will, perhaps, find his book less cloying than it would have been had he made it a mere compilation. The wit is more digestible for an admixture of grave matter.

The Law of Equivalents in its Relation to Political and Social Ethics. By Edward Payson. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1888. 8vo, pp. 306.

The Law of Equivalents is a new and fanciful name for the principle of the uniformity of nature, or for the statement that every event must have a cause. It is a curiosity of literature to come upon a book which does not belong to the domain of abstract logic, and which is yet devoted, with a great deal of energy and fire, to proving that events are preceded by their causes. No serious-minded critic could take exception to the soundness of this doctrine; and if there are people who have not yet been convinced of its truth, they will doubtless find a great deal to interest and instruct them in Mr. Payson's pages. It is plain that there is no subject under heaven which might not be used to enforce and illustrate this general thesis, and we are therefore prepared to find that there are few subjects under heaven which our author has not touched upon. All his own views in regard to society and politics are easily defended by saying that the means which he recommends for attaining to virtue and happiness are equivalents, and by denying that sacred name to the means recommended by his opponents. When hard pushed, he even goes so far as to say that those who oppose him reject the Law of Equivalents itself. Of Carlyle he says: "The Scotchman evidently does not believe in the Law of Equivalents." And again: "I suspect Mr. Macaulay did believe in the law." The value of his own views in regard to questions of any intricacy may be gathered from this specimen of his political economy:

> "Society depends upon and flourishes by the luxurious and extravagant, and even vicious, habits and indulgences of its members. . . . By far the greater part of the revenues of the three most civilized nations now living are drawn from tobacco and spirituous liquors. . . . So, too, the more innocent luxuries of life for the gratification of appetite and costly apparel . . . furnish employment for myriads of idle hands, and assist in the distribution of that wealth which ever tends to great centres."

This, our author says, is trite enough, but he neglects to say that it is untrue.

After noting (p. 241) the regard in which the author holds superstition even, in preference to a cheerless no-faith, one is not surprised to find that he has a great distaste for woman suffrage, and that he considers all its advocates to be very poor creatures. A large part of the book is taken up with proving that women are so pure and good that it is not fitting for them to take a part in the government of their country. He believes that woman is an interpreter to man of vast stores of wisdom which, but for her, would forever remain undisclosed; that there is no substitute for woman's instinct; that instinct is better than the highest reason in that it never misleads its followers. What, then, will he say to the fact that the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Maryland, a very saintly and a very feminine body of women, has lately declared itself to be in favor of woman suffrage? There seems to be nothing for him to do but to yield to the clear instincts of these admirable women.

Orient and Occident: A Journey East from Lahore to Liverpool. By Maj.-Gen. R. C. W. R. Mitford. With illustrations. London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1888. Map. Pp. iv, 359. 8vo.

Gen. Mitford chose to return to England from India by the way of Japan and the United States, instead of the Suez Canal, and accordingly feels qualified to write a book. He saw nothing which had not been described equally well hundreds of times before, and the only value his book has is that it gives, in a readable way, the impressions which certain parts of two rapidly changing countries made on a traveller in the year 1886. The reader will be disappointed if he expects to find in it the intelligent and profitable criticism of a keen and well-informed observer, especially where our own country is concerned. The author's irrepressible insular prejudices give a spice, not of novelty, but of personality to his account. In Japan he is struck with the preponderance of German influence. Many of the Yokohama shops "had their Japanese signs translated into German only, while in all notices which appeared in foreign languages, German held the first place. Next in frequency, and not far behind, came Russian. English and French followed after a long interval," and Portuguese brought up the rear. He also notes that which distinguishes this part of Japan from every

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other country, the absence of pastures, and consequently of cattle and flocks. "Milk, butter, cheese, and mutton are unknown, except as importations—the first three in a condensed and tinned shape from Europe, the last from the Korea." An attempt was being made to start a dairy and a "mutton-club," which it was feared would fail from want of pasture. "Not only is every available scrap of land near the town under cultivation, but the indigenous grasses are quite unfit for sheep pasture." This is not true, however (as the author seems to think), of other districts, where cattle and goats are raised in considerable numbers. Gen. Mitford's experiences in the United States were of the ordinary character, and do not call for especial notice, unless we except this remark, that in his opinion the best shops in New York are "about on a par with those of Brighton or Scarborough." A delicious illustration of the manner in which the average Englishman manages to take from an American story all its characteristic humor, is given in the author's attempt to tell what the New York Alderman said on the proposition to put a gondola in Central Park. The worthy city father's terse "Why not put in two and let 'em breed?" becomes, in Gen. Mitford's version, "A pair of gondōlas should be got till we see how the climate of our great country suits them." Of the illustrations, which are "from sketches by the author," we can only say that his style and skill are much better suited to portray Bunker Hill Monument than the Yosemite or Niagara.

Power and Liberty. By Count Leo Tolstoi. Translated from the French by Huntington Smith. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 13 Astor Place.

THIS work of Count Tolstoi's, we are informed by the translator, has never appeared in Russia. It is difficult to imagine why it should not. A more harmless book it would be difficult to conceive of, or one more remote from any popular interest or revolutionary tendency. It is only a more abstract and impersonal rendering of the same ideas that appeared in the author's 'Napoleon and the Russian Campaign,' in which the pendulum of speculation swung to the furthest possible point opposed to Carlyle's great-man theory of history. Our criticisms upon that book will make any criticism upon this superfluous for readers who have the first in mind. As the contention there was that Napoleon had nothing to do with the Russian campaign, so it is here that the great man in general is a figment of historical imagination. So radical is the Count that, between Buckle, who has been considered heretofore as the grand opponent of the great-man theory, and Gibbon, he has nothing to choose. Buckle turns out to be another "great man" theorist, only his great men are orators, men of science, philosophers, and poets, where Gibbon's are monarchs, generals, and statesmen. Equally objectionable to Count Tolstoi is the theory that the real power in history is the popular will, and that this expresses itself in great men. He cannot make out the connection between the popular will and its supposed exponents. Some of his pages on the contradictions of historians are bright enough, but they are for the most part based on travesties of actual histories.

In the discussion of free will and necessity, it is not unlikely that the reader is embarrassed by the transmission of the author's thought through a foreign language. There is much that is obscure, and some things that are plainly contradictory. The subjective aspect of all actions is liberty, the objective aspect is necessity. The idea that actions are subject exclusively to the law of necessity is, we are assured, as untenable as the idea that man's acts are absolutely free. But liberty is for the metaphysician, necessity for the historian. "In history, what we know we call necessity; what we do not know, we conceal under the name of liberty. In history, liberty is what we do not know about the life of humanity." History, following the example of the other sciences, must give up the search for causes, and seek only for laws. Just as astronomy found it difficult to give up its belief in the immobility of the earth, so history finds it difficult to give up the idea of personal independence, and to acknowledge that man is subject to the laws of time, space, causality. But as the astronomer was landed in an absurdity by the earth's immobility, so is the historian by his idea of independence; each must give up an apparent reality for something imperceptible which enables them to establish laws. This is the conclusion of the whole matter.

The book is written in a series of disjointed propositions, whose perpetual *staccato* is extremely disagreeable and almost paralyzing to the mind. As a plea for a broader treatment of history than we have generally had of late, the book may have some value; it would have much more if it were not so negative. It finds fault with all other methods: it gives us no example of its own. When Count Tolstoi has written a history according to the canons here laid down, it will be interesting to compare it with Gibbon and Freeman and Buckle, and some others, and see which we prefer. Our impression is that Count Tolstoi's will seem very thin and cold and bloodless in the comparison.

The translator of 'Power and Liberty' finds in it, as in 'Napoleon and the Russian Campaign,' the "ground-swell of humanity and the aspiration for freedom." There is more charity than truth in this. The majority will find in it little more than cold and windy speculation, and a new reason for wishing that Count Tolstoi would return to novel-writing at no distant day, not merely that he may give us greater pleasure, but also that he may do us greater good.

Incidents in the History of the Honourable Artillery Company. Being an Abridged Version of Major Raike's History of the Company from its Incorporation in 1537 to the Present Time (1887), and including also a Brief History of the American Branch of the Regiment, Founded in 1638, and known as the Ancient and Honourable Company of Boston, Mass., U. S. A. By Captain Woolmer-Williams. London: Richard Bentley & Son. 1888. Pp. 203.

CONSIDERING that the Artillery Company of London and its Boston offshoot have never been in action officially, and that the history by Major Raikes had covered all the interesting matters of this civic body occurring prior to 1878, it will be sufficient to say that the interest in the above-cited pretty volume is confined to its American portion. Various civilities have passed between the London and Boston bodies. In 1887 the commander of the Boston company, Colonel Henry Walker, with several other members, attended by invitation the 350th anniversary at London of the formation of the corps. In return, in May, 1888, Captain Woolmer-Williams and some associates formed a prominent feature in the interesting ceremonies at Boston, attending the 250th anniversary of the establishment of the American branch.

Although, as we have said, neither body as such has any military record, they have not been composed of "carpet-knights." In Boston the Artillery Company was founded as a school for officers, and, for most of its term of existence, membership was confined to them. Of course, also, the members for the first two hundred years consisted of men who had taken part in the unceasing frontier wars. Since the great Rebellion, many veterans have figured on its rolls; and, in fact, the roll of services of its various members throughout would compare favorably with that of many regiments of regular troops in England. The present book is a very satisfactory testimony to the cordial relations existing between the two bodies. Its illustrations are interesting and appropriate, and the historical sketch contains enough to satisfy the ordinary reader.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Alden, Mrs. G. R. Pansies for Thoughts. Compiled by Grace Livingston. Boston: D. Lothrop Co. 75 cents.
Arnold, Sir E. With Sa'di in the Garden; or, the Book of Love. Boston: Roberts Bros. $1.
Bates, J. L. Alfred Kelley: His Life and Work. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co.
Eaton, Frances. A Queer Little Princess and her Friends. Boston: D. Lothrop Co. $1.50.
Evans, Dr. G. A. Handbook of Historical and Geographical Phthisiology. With special reference to the Distribution of Consumption in the United States. D. Appleton & Co. $2.
Fairfield, Abbie H. Flowers and Fruit from the Writings of Harriet Beecher Stowe. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.
Fothergill, Jessie. From Moon Isles. Henry Holt & Co. $1.
Frank Leslie's Christmas Book. 1888. Mrs. Frank Leslie.
Garnett, R. The Twilight of the Gods, and Other Tales. London: T. Fisher Unwin.
Gautier—Féval—Sardou. Jettatura. A Noble Sacrifice. The Black Pearl. Brentano's. 50 cents.
Greely, Gen. A. W. American Weather: A Popular Exposition of the Phenomena of the Weather, including Chapters on Hot and Cold Waves, Blizzards, Hail-Storms, and Tornadoes. Illustrated. Dodd, Mead & Co. $2.50.
Hanslip, A. Golden Showers. With Poems Selected by Christine Forrest. Thomas Whittaker. 50 cents.
Harland, Marion. A Gallant Fight. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.50.
Helps, A. *Casimir Maremma*: A Story. Boston: Roberts Bros. 75 cents.
Hemans, Mrs. The Better Land. Thomas Whittaker. 40 cents.
Hill, T. In the Woods and Elsewhere. Boston: Cupples & Hurd. $1.25.
Hives, Ophélia. Be Quick and Be Dead: A Parody. M. J. Ivers & Co. 25 cents.
Kellogg, W. F. Hunting in the Jungle, with Gun and Guide. Boston: Estes & Lauriat.
Kennedy, W. S. Henry W. Longfellow. Biography, Anecdote, Letters, Criticism. New ed. Boston: D. Lothrop Co. $1.25.
Kirk, Eleanor. Information for Authors: Hints and Suggestions concerning All Kinds of Literary Work. Brooklyn: The Author.
Longfellow, H. W. The Building of the Ship, and Other Poems. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 15 cents.
Martin, B. E. Old Chelsea: A Summer Day's Stroll. Illustrated by Joseph Pennell. London: T. Fisher Unwin.
Matthews, B. Pen and Ink: Papers on Subjects of More or Less Interest. Longmans, Green & Co. $1.50.
McCord, Prof. F. A. Hand-Book of Canadian Dates. Montreal: Dawson Brothers. 75 cents.
Mitchell, W. Bryan Maurice. Thomas Whittaker. $1.
Ohnet, G. The Ironmaster; or, Love and Pride. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co.
Pen. By the Author of Miss Toosey's Mission. Boston: Roberts Bros. $1.
Peters, F. H. Vassili Verestchagin, Painter, Soldier, Traveller. American Art Association. 50 cents.
Smart, H. The Master of Rathkelly: A Novel. D. Appleton & Co. 50 cents.
Stearns, Prof. O. S. Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament. Boston: Silver, Burdett & Co. $1.
Sue, E. The Wandering Jew. New illustrated edition. 3 vols. George Routledge & Sons. $10.
Super, Prof. O. B. Preparatory French Reader. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co.
Swiss Family Robinson. A New Translation from the Original by Mrs. H. B. Paull. Frederick Warne & Co. $3.
Tennyson, A. Fairy Lilian, and Other Poems. Illustrated. Boston: Estes & Lauriat.
The Astonishing History of Troy Town. By Q. Cassell & Co. 25 cents.
The Bugle Song, and Other Poems. Illustrated. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. $1.50.
The Mott Street Poker Club. Illustrated. White & Allen. 50 cents.
The Old Folks at Home. Illustrated. White & Allen.
The Song Century. Syracuse, N. Y.: C. W. Bardeen. 15 cents.
The Strophes of Omar Khayyám. Translated from the Persian by J. L. Garner. Milwaukee: The Corbitt & Skinmore Co.
The Threshold of Life. T. Nelson & Sons. 60 cents.
Theuriet, A. Song Birds and Seasons. Boston: Estes & Lauriat.
Thwing, Rev. C. F. The Working Church. The Baker & Taylor Co. 75 cents.
Tourgée, A. W. Letters to a King. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. $1.25.
True Finance: The Issue of 1888. By a Tax-Payer. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 25 cents.
Tunison, J. S. Master Virgil. The Author of the Æneid as He Seemed in the Middle Ages. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. $2.
Tytler, Sarah. The Blackhall Ghosts. Rand, McNally & Co.
Under-Currents. By "The Duchess." George Munro.

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